BISHOP DR. ROBERT CALDWELL

A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE MANONMANIAM SUNDARANAR UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY

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JANUARY 2012

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation, entitled "***BISHOP DR. ROBERT CALDWELL : A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY***", submitted for the Ph.D. Degree by (Mrs.) D.M. Persis Rajammal is an original research done by her in the Department of History, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, during the period of her research from 2003-2009 and that this work has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship or fellowship or any other similar title.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled "***BISHOP DR. ROBERT CALDWELL : A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY***", submitted to the Manonmaniam Sundaranar University for the Ph.D. Degree is my original research done during 2003 – 2009 in the Department of History and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or any other similar title.

Place :

Signature of the Candidate

Date :

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell was one of the earliest Socio-Anthropologist, Dravidian Linguist, historian and church Theologian - Historian. The government of Tamil Nadu in recognition of his great contribution to Dravidian Language and culture, immortalised his name in the Marina Beach in 1968 in connection with the Second World Tamil Conference. Again, in order to imbibe his memory and recollect his researches in various fields BCRC (Bishop Caldwell Research Centre) was inaugurated on 24.06.2000 by the then Hon'ble Minister for Education. The foundation stone for the Bishop Caldwell Research Centre (BCRC) for Religious Historical and Linguistic studies was laid on. In the recently conducted First World Classical Tamil Conference at Coimbatore Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell's researches and works have been remembered and further studies have been done on them. Very recently on 17.02.2011 the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Kalaignar M. Karunanidhi had the great privilege of unveiling the statue of the Bishop and declaring the place of his residence at Idayangudi as a protected Historical Monument. Having read some of the works on the Bishop, the present scholar chose to make a study about the personality and the multifarious contribution of the great scholar.

Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell : A Historiographical study is the result of my original and independent research carried out under the guidance of My Guide Dr. Justin Wilson Former HOD, Department of History, V.O.C College, Tuticorin and my Co-Guide Dr. K. Sadasivan M.A., M.Phil., Dip. in Arch, FUWAI, Ph.D., Former Prof and HOD, Dept. of History, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University. Abishekapatty. I thank Dr. Justin Wilson for his encouraging, soothing and urgrudging words to complete the dissertation. I have great pleasure to express my sincere and heartfelt gratitude to my learned Co-Guide Dr. K. Sadasivan, M.A., M.Phil., Dip. in Archi, FUWAI, Ph.D., who

sharpened my professional skills and raised me to the status of a Doctorate degree holder. But for his scholastic insight, expertise, guidance, eruditions, his mastery over the subjects my task would have been remained incomplete.

I submit my gratitude to the university authorities for having granted me permission to do research in this subject.

My family served as a launching pad by providing a congenial climate essential to the perfection of my investigation. I record my appreciation to my husband Dr. K. Thomas Jebakumar, M.Com., M.PEd., M.Ed., M.Phil., P.G.D.S.M., Sports Journalism (cert), Ph.D., But for him I would not have finished my investigation. His ardent support through out my investigation, since collection to execution should not be underestimated.

I gratefully recognise my son T.J. Ainson Jeba Daniel B.E., M.Tech., M.B.A., and my daughter T.J. Ainsy Goldlin M.B.B.S for their valuable suggestions and assistance in collecting and designing the project.

I gratefully remember and thank my father Rev. T. Daniel Masillamani, M.A., B.D and my mother M. Thangamani Daniel Rtd. H.M., for their energising and empowering words. The encouragement and inspiration I got towards my studies lies in their interest. My mother spared me from many of the family responsibilities and induced me a lot to attain the goal. I am indebted much to my father Rev. T. Daniel Masillmani, M.A., B.D., and my grandfather Mr. M. Thangiah Evangelist for their valuable collections relevant to my investigation.

I cannot ignore the help rendered by my sisters Mrs. D.M. Tryphena Joy, B.Sc, M.A., M.Ed and Mrs. D.M. Julia Deva Kirubai, M.Sc, M.Ed.

My sincere thanks are due to Dr. (Mrs) Grace Hezipah Anbumani, Reader in History St. Mary's College, Tuticorin for her precious resource materials. I also thank Mr. Kingsly, M.Sc., B.Ed., M.A., M.Phil., M.L.ISC, M.Phil., P.G.D.C.A Librarian Stephen Neill library for his boosting words and materials. I should not forget to thank Mrs. Prema Nair, M.A., M.L.I.SC, Formerly Librarian Sarah Tucker College, Palayamkottai.

The following libraries and librarians deserve to be thanked for granting me permission to consult the relevant source materials needed for the construction of my research work.

1. Collections of Rev. T. Daniel Masillamani, M.A., B.D., & Eva. M. Thangiah – Karisal.
2. Bishop Stephen Neill Library, Palayamkottai.
3. DLA at Kalakuttam, Thiruvananthapuram.
4. Sarah Tucker College - Palayamkottai.
5. Parsonage – Idaiyangudi.
6. Schaffter Hr. Sec. School, Tirunelveli – 1.
7. Bishop Sargent Teacher Training Institute – Palayamcottai.
8. St. Johns College – Palayamkottai.
9. Saiva Siddhantha Library - Tirunelveli Town.
10. University Library - Manonmaniam Sundaranar University.
11. District Central Library - Palayamkottai, Tirunelvei District.
12. Public Library – Tirunelveli Town.
13. Caldwell Hr. Sec. School, Tuticorin.

I greet and thank every one those who are connected with my investigation directly or indirectly.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Christian Missionaries of the colonial era have done multifaceted services of immense value to India, particularly to the erstwhile Madras Presidency and the state of Travancore-Cochin. They were all learned persons, who took over the Gospel for its propagation throughout the world. These Missionaries were great humanists, well versed in the Gospel and highly disciplined workers. Their teachings and preaching had great impact on the masses who, for long been marginalized under the hegemony of the elitist caste-Hindus. The masses were treated as slaves, chattels and servants, who were perpetually a servite class to the landed aristocrates, temple managers, powerful barons and government officials. They could easily be whipped or beaten or even killed at the slightest rapprochements. They thus lost their birth rights dignity of labour and their person. The Missionaries starting form St. Thomas, one of the disciples of Jesus Christ[*], Francis Xavier, who concentrated mainly on the conversion of the Paratavar, later called the Paravar community of the Tuticorin or Parava Coast, Robert de Nobili, who mostly became of Christian Brahman, and thought conversion of a single Brahman is equal to the conversion of ten non Brahmans, Constantine Beschi, who did meritorious literary works, John de Brito who became a martyr at the hands of Oriyurdeva-all belonged to the early wave of Catholicism (many more who are not mentioned here), the result of Renaissance, Reformation and counter Reformation.

By the beginning of the 18th century protestant Missionaries from various parts of Europe left their houses and took up gospel service in the far-off countries including India. The Danish Missionaries Barthalomez, Ziegenbalq and Pulitzer came to

[*] The story of the arrival of St. Thomas to India in A.D. 72 and his conversion of the people of West Coast and building of 7½ churches in Kerala (including the present Kanyakumari District) has to late became a matter of dispute. See for details K. Sadasivan.

Tharangambadi (Tranquebar) and set up their missionary service. In the far South Protestant Missionaries like Christian Swartz, who was the tutor of Serfoji II, came to Tirunelveli and made the first attempt of converting the natives. His name is associated with the conversion of a Maratha Brahman royal lady Kohila named as Clarinda whose sepulchre is still to be seen in Palayamkottai.

In Southern Tamil Nadu, especially in the then South Travancore, Thomas Mault, latter the Scottish Missionaries, in Tirunelveli Rhenius, Margoschis in Nazareth, Dr.G.U.Pope in Sawyerpuram, Bishop Sargent in Tirunelveli, Samuel Mateer in Tiruvananthapuram made their early conversions of the natives to Protestantism. They not only did religious services, but social educational and medical services to liberate these forgotten souls from poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, ill health and ill treatment. Besides these, some of them, for instance Dr.G.U.Pope did commendable literary service amidst their tight schedule of religious propaganda. One among these dedicated souls, which have been surrendered at the feet of Jesus Christ, was Bishop Dr.Robert Caldwell.

The learned scholar Caldwell voluntarily surrendered his body and soul for the propagation of the Gospel. At the time of his surrender, his mind was brimming with bliss and happiness, but his mother was in deep sorrow. Belonging to the London Missionary Society, he later became a preacher of the Society for the propagation of Christian Gospel and started his voyage to India on the 30th August 1837. Reaching Madras, he had made up his mind to walk or travel on horse back the long distance only to acquaint himself with people and to learn their idioms, customs and conventions, faiths and beliefs. Having walked the distance, he chose to set up his gospel centre at Idayangudi in the erstwhile Tirunelveli District. From the beginning he was a close

observer of men and matters. His stay at Madras for sometime helped him acquaint himself with scholars like Francis Whyte Ellis, enrich his knowledge in Telugu and Sanskrit which he was able to acquire through C.P.Brown which on travel and learnt some usages and vernaculars. Apart from his proselytizing activity, he spent his time fruitfully and constructively in doing researches and writing books on the society, language, history and religion. Through his work on the Shanars of Tinnevelly, first published in 1849, created some commotion among the community people, it took more than one century for them to understand its purpose. Many works both in Tamil and English appeared to redeem the community from what Caldwell wrote about them as 'heathens' and 'toddy-tappers' and mostly uncivilized people. Though Caldwell defended his purposes, the book was banned and went out of circulation.

However the disheartened Caldwell concentrated his attention on Tamil language and understanding its antiquity and purity. His long period of study of the language in companion with Sanskrit and other South Indian languages, especially their grammatical norms and idioms and phrases and style and verbs, and proverbs helped him announce the independent standing, antiquity, purity, of Tamil language, which in his opinion can stand all alone without the support of any other language. Though he borrowed some phrases unacknowledgingly from Francis Whyte Ellis who before Caldwell had done highly commendable works on Tirukkural and other works, it was Caldwell who fulfilled the aspiration and ambition of Ellis. His publication of the still famous *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, first published in 1856 was received with great enthusiasm by the Tamil scholars, but with a kind of antipathy by the Sanskrit scholars. However great the criticism of the work by the orthodox Sanskritics, it withstood test and time and still stands as the monument of Tamil grammatical criticism.

Besides Caldwell wanted to know the history of the part of the land where he started his gospel work. Knowing history is knowing one's own past. Cicero once said: if you do not know what had happened before you were born, you will ever remain a child. In fact, what Alberuni said in the eleventh century. A.D. about India's sense of history, Caldwell has repeated it in the nineteenth Century, Caldwell is very pained to learn from their natives about their ignorance of the past. Caldwell thought atleast to recover the past of the region of his work. He was very much convinced of the lack of historical knowledge of the natives, he had decided to write a history of the Tirunelveli region from the remote past upto the time of the British capture of Tirunelveli. His work with a long title, *History of Tinnevelly, From the Earliest Period to its cession to The English Government in A.D.1801*, was first published in 1881. At a later time, it became the source book on the history of Tirunelveli. It contains materials that he collected from his explorations and excavations that he conducted at Tuticorin and other places and the records of the British Government. It has inspired scholars like H.R.Pate, Guruguhadasa Pillai, historians like, K.Rajayyan S.Kathirvel and others to dwell further deep into the waves of history in Tirunelveli.

Leaving all these, Caldwell has made his primary contribution to his chosen field of the propagation of the Gospel, that was his ordained duty; all others were out of his own interest and for his mental satisfaction. He wanted to leave a record of the total number of the conversions to Christianity before him and after him. He wanted to record the number of conversions that he was able to make and the kind of social service that he rendered to the converted people: prayers-sermons that he conducted, the church that he built, school and health centres he started, the kind of education that he was able to impart to them, the teachers and ayahs, he trained in Idaiyangudi "Shepherd Shire," he built and beautified with the planting of trees etc. All these he

wanted to put in a book and first published it under the title, *The Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of SPCK and SPG in 1881.* This book serves as a primary data base for other gospel workers and the Christian population in particular how Caldwell was able to make a desert into an oasis; illiterate people into literates, the uncivilized heathens into a civilized lot and how these educated to go abroad and made their mark on world records. These Caldwell did without any reciprocity nor with any expectations. On the day of his death on August 28,1891, he died as a fully- lived man and with all honours.

It took about a century to realize his services on various walks of life. In recognition of his services, in the centenary year of the publication of the Comparative Grammar, N.Kandasamy Pillai brought out a biographical survey or study of Dr. Caldwell in the Caldwell Centenary volume published in the Tamil Pozhil (the monthly Tamil journal of the Thanjavur Karanthai Tamil Sangam in 1958. In 1968, during the II World Tamil Conference held at Chennai, Bishop Dr. Caldwell's statue was unveiled at the Marina Beach. There after, many scholars took, up topics related to his Comparative Grammar and brought out innumerable volumes with new findings and opening new fields. In 2001 the Bishop Caldwell Research Centre was inaugurated by the then Education Minister Prof. K. Anbazhagan and the centre continues to hold meetings and seminars every year in the memory of Dr. Caldwell. Very recently the Ex.Chief Minister M.Karunanithi declared the house where Dr. Caldwell lived as a historical monument and Idaiyangudi as a protected area.

Whatever works that have been done, it is incomplete without a full fledged study of the multifarious activities of Dr.Caldwell. The piece of work tries to fulfill that

want or gap that exist in the history of Tamil Nadu. It tries to make a study and evaluate the impact of his works on Tamil Society and historiography in particular.

SCOPE

This study may appear to be a biographical study. But it is a critical evaluation of the services of a multifaceted personality. Much research has been done on Caldwell's services to Tamil linguistics (grammar); later scholars have widened the scope and made indepth studies on areas which Caldwell touched and left. Many linguists like Prof. T.P.Meenakshi Sundaranar, P.Subramania Sastri, Vi.Ko. Surya Narayana Sastri; Chidambaranar, M.Varadarajan, V.I.Subramanian, Agasthialingam, M.Israel, and Sundaramoorthy have done marvelous works on the field already trodden by Caldwell. Still much remains to be studied. Similarly, the community study on the ***Shanars*** was a pioneering attempt on social studies. Though this work had evoked great oppositions and Caldwell was questioned, it became one of the ground works for later scholars, like Thurston, Trautman, H.R.Pate, Havelock, Ellis and recently to Hardgrave and Templeman.

Here also much remains to be done. His study on the History of Tinnevelly is a model of regional history, it contains much thoughts on historiographical sense, his excavations, his views on history and other sidelights. It has very much helped H.R. Pate, Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, K. Rajayyan and many scholars to make further studies on the District. Much remains yet to be done in the light of recent studies. His services to propagation of Christianity has also not received the required attention from religious historians. It has also to be reevaluated in the light of recent development. Therefore scope of this study is vast and rewarding.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is to make an impartial and dispassionate enquiry into the quality of the services rendered by Caldwell to the advancement of Society and Knowledge. Thereby, this study purposes to assess the place of Caldwell in the history of Tamil Nadu (India) and the impact that he had made on posterity. How far his dedicated service served as model to some others and how the present generation makes misuse of his services.

AREA OF THE STUDY

The area of the study cannot be specified exactly. Yet it tries to cover the whole of the then Tamil Nadu, with particular reference to the District of Tirunelveli and the place of Idaiyangudi. He made Idaiyangudi a model village and Tamil a model language and Tirunelveli a model History.

PERIOD OF STUDY

The period of study covered is a little earlier from the date of the arrival of Caldwell to Tirunelveli and upto his death. His arrival at Madras - Tirunelveli - Nazareth - Idaiyankudi is historic. In short the period of study is from his birth in 1814 to his death in 1891. However, the study extends its period to the present day, as it aims at studying his impact on various walks of life of the people.

HYPOTHESIS

Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell had left indelible imprints on the hearts of the Tamils. His impact on Tamils could not easily be assessed his place ascertained.

SOURCES

The study is made using both Primary and Secondary sources. Primary sources are Caldwell's own works and the writings of his own contemporaries. His writings include the *Tinnevelly Shanar* - A Sketch which laid foundation for the forthcoming communal histories. The *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* which reveals his taste for literature and Grammar. His another work, *History of Tinnevelly* was the result of his historical sense. He never forgot the purpose for which he was sent to India. His involvement in evangelism made him produce the *Records of the Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge* and the *Society for the Propagation of Gospel*. His letters to the Madras Diocesan Council and also the Burial plaque provides his wishes and some reliable information about Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell. It also depends on the *Reminiscences*, actually an autobiography of Bishop Robert Caldwell written of course on the demand of his friends and relatives, beautifully and faithfully portrayed his life and endeavours. It was posthumously published by his son-in-law Rev. J. L. Wyatt. The preface to this book was written by J.L. Wyatt serves as a primary source. Chitrignanar Kurrippidam gives elementary teachings of Christianity. It was taught to the school children by the teachers along with other subjects. His pamphlets on Hinduism and Christianity is very useful in understanding the religious condition of the people of the region. Kudumi is another pamphlet tells us that he paid close attention to the customs and habits of the people live in his age.

Secondary Sources : Mainly the others about his works. Namely the History of Bishop Caldwell by Rev. Christadoss, Prof. George Mullar, Journal of Karanthai Thamizh Sangam contains an article discussing his life and deeds in detail. Journal of Dravidian Linguistics and B.C.R.C Proceedings (Idaiyangudi) contain many articles

about Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell, K. Meenakshi Sundaram, Mayilaiseeni Venkatasamy. R.P. Sethupillai have given a glowing description of the life and deeds of Bishop. Dr. Robert Caldwell. Moreover some of the thesis need mention here Dr. K. Sadasivan in his article Plegiarism, Robert Caldwell-Trautman's critical opinions about Francis Whyte Ellis and Caldwell, and A.R.Venkatasalapathy's observations in the introduction to the book; An article about Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell found in the proceedings of Second World Tamil Conference (1968). An unpublished Ph.D. Thesis of Dr. G. Premkumar -Genesis of Dravidian Movement in the Madras presidency (1865 - 1917); 125th Anniversary Magazine of Holy Trinity Church, Idayangudi 2005 May 15 - 22, An article of Dorcas Shanthini - Robert Caldwell and His Missionary Dynasty, An article of Mrs. Grace Hepzipah - Bishop Caldwell’s contribution to history, Proceedings of Seventh All India Conference of BCRC. Proceedings of 28th All India conference of Dravidian Linguistics. An article of Dr. Sadasivan - Dr. Caldwell on Early History of the Tirunelveli Region and so on.

METHOD OF STUDY

It is a biographical study but with a difference in which Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell's major areas of study and contributions critically viewed, and their value to the reconstruction of the Tamil Society, Tamil language, Tamil History and Christian religion is found out. The method adopted is Historical description with some analysis.

CONCLUSION

Among a galaxy of European Missionaries who came to India Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell was hailed as the Apostle of East Tirunelveli. He did vital ministry. He patiently learnt our difficult language and set up educational institutions for the benefit of our children. In those days, transport and communications were in a

very primitive stage. There were no proper roads or buses or motor vehicles. He had to travel by horses or double bullock cart or by walk. His impressive personality and loving tendency amassed him support from every where. Unforgettable scenes of jubilation and popular enthusiasm were witnessed when ever he visited the hamlets. His fatherly loving care healed the sick. By his tireless work the sheeps of the flock increased leaps and bounds.

Laurels and awards, both national and international poured on the Bishop. The Magnificent Holy Trinity Church was constructed by the brain and hands of Bishop Caldwell. His fame will live as long as the world exists. Many scholars ventured to make indepth studies about Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell's services to language and religion. But much was not done about his work on the ***History of Tinnevelly*** and ***Shanars of Tinnevelly***. Eventhough some studies have been made, there is ample hope for new approaches. Still there is scope for a fresh start to reach higher goals to evaluate his services in various walks of life. He was one of the greatest European philologists the world has known. His works reveal us the fact that 'An investment in knowledge always pays the best interest'. He became renowned for his devoted selfless service to humanity. Though he was not a born historian he boldly put to good use the opportunities opened to him and became a historian.

CHAPTER - I

LIFE OF BISHOP DR. ROBERT CALDWELL

Evaluating the services of Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell, Nee. Kandasamy Pillai observes "Of all the western scholars, who contributed to the Tamil language, the foremost among them in many was Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell. By his minute scientific methods of critical approach without any exaggeration or underestimation, he established the long antiquity, purity, the long tradition of continuity from very early days, independent standing without the support of any other language and made known all these to the scholastic world. He made his researches into the long antiquity of Tamilakam, its history, culture of its people and their methods of worship". Such was the greatest personality Robert Caldwell, who made Idaiyangudi "Shepherdshire" in Tirunelveli District his home and its people as his own people. To study and to make an evaluation of such a personality in his mutlifaceted form is the main objective and his contribution to historical knowledge in particular[1].

Robert Caldwell was one of the renowned scholar an archaeologist Christian Missionaries of South India. He was not only a religious priest, but also a multilinguist, historian, social scientist a historian of SPG and a maker of a model village at Idaiyangudi. He knew eighteen languages including Greek, Latin, Hebrew, English Irish, Scottish, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Sanskrit and even some Malayalam. In his own words "I was born in Ireland, educated in Scotland, enlisted myself in London Mission Society. Nevertheless lived in India for a pretty long time and indulged in Indian life style, and became one among the Indians[2]. Caldwell must have been a most

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[1] Nee. Kandasamy Pillai, "Caldwell and the Age of his life : Caldwell Centenary Souvenir", Tamilp Pozhil (A Monthly Journal of Thanjai Karanthai Tamil Sangam), Vol. 4, 34, 1958, p. 97.

[2] Rajendran, Arunthamizl Valartha Ayal Nattu Pulavarkal, Ramu Nilayam, Chennai, 1993, p. 69.

impressive looking man. He was a man of magnificent physique. One of his assistant missionaries described him as a fine man, over six feet high, and weighing twelve stone.

He was well built and endowed with handsome features . . . Even in his old age when he could scarcely see to read, he stood erect as a palm, the Episcopal vestment, the long white hair, the snowy beard and the clear cut features giving the ideal the clear cut features giving the ideal presentment of a venerable Bishop[3]. Caldwell had a well built body impressive and majestic in his bearings. The body was strong due to hard work and his heart was pure due to godly work. He was a patient Bishop to his flock with whom he spent as much of time they wanted[4].

Caldwell was born on the 7th of May 1814, near Antrim in the North of Ireland, at a place on a little stream called the Clady. His parents and all his ancestors were Scotch, and he returned with his parents to Scotland about his tenth year. His family on returning to Scotland took up their abode in Glasgow, where he remained till his sixteenth year[5]. So he was fortunate enough to get education in the University of Glasgow. He inculcated the habit of reading books and not scriptural books. His acquaintance with the priests made him think of God and thereby he committed himself to the Lord in 1830 at the flowering age of sixteen[6]. He devoted himself to the congregational church of London Mission Society (L.M.S)[*]. The society decided to send him for higher studies in Glasgow as well as in the preparatory classes of Cecil at Turvey in Bedfordshire. He also studied painting in an industrial training institute. But

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[3] Ulaga Thamizh Manadu Vizha Malar, Chennai, 1968. European Missionaries and the study of Dravidian Languages, p. 10.
[4] DLA NEWS (A monthly of Dravidian Linguistics Association of India) May 2000, 28th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguistics, p. 7.
[5] Rev. J.L. Wyatt, Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell, Chennai, 1894, p. 1.
[6] Rev. D.A. Christadoss, Bishop Caldwell, Bethel Publication, 1980, p. 5.
[*] London Mission Society (L.M.S.)

he did not choose painting as his life's mission[7]. At Glasgow he learnt Greek, Hebrew and Latin with much effort. He fared well in Logic, Philosophy, Home Science and Greek in an excellent manner. Topping the list of graduates, he won Robert Peels Prize[8].

Whilst studying in Glasgow, he imbibed that love of comparative philology which has ever since grown in his mind with his physical growth. He was led in this direction by the natural bent of his own mind, but his interest in the subject took shape and deepend through the influence of the lectures of Sir. Daniel Sandford, Professor of Greek, an enthusiastic scholar. He formed a resolution then in his mind, that if he ever found himself amongst strange races speaking strange languages, he should endeavour so to study those languages as to qualify himself to write something about them that should be useful to the world. To study a language, a scholar should know its background, its spoken dialects, its grammar, its speakers, the land in its it is spoken and the culture of the country. This shows in which direction his mind was thinking and working. The seed he himself had sown in his mind that later sprouted into a full grown tree with wide branches. Out of this early formed resolution was born eventually his magnum opus Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages[9].

In the nineteenth century study of language and literature was considered pre-eminent to become a scholar. By the study of language and literature, it was thought that one can understand the truth of people's life and their history. It was an age in which linguistic research was done with scientific methods well-drawn prescriptions and within scientific rules. At that time the Germans were the pioneers in this field. It had not become popular in England.

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[7] Nee. Kandasami Pillai, Op.cit., p. 98.
[8] D.S. George Muller, Bishop Robert Caldwell, Palayamcottai, 1977, p. 1.
[9] Rev. J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 7.

He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Glasgow University in 1837. The L.M.S ordered him as a clergy and sent him to Madras in 1837 along with Lyon to Benaras and Russel to Travancore[10].On the appointed day for voyage he had to overcome a hurdle which came in the form of his bedridden mother. When he knelt beside her bed, she embraced and kissed him on the cheeks and uttered, I did not murmur even in my thought, and whole heartedly given you to the Lord"[11] to win over India for Christ. He didn't say much about his parents, brothers or sisters. When he was sixteen he was taken to Dublin by his elder brother, who wished to bring him as an artist. His brother was a member of the congregation of Dr. Urwick by whose influence he joined congregational form of church[12].After his journey to India he had never seen his parents[13]. At the age of twenty he embarked on voyage to Madras in the ship called Mary Ann in 1837[14]. At that time all the ships on travel had to come around the cape of Good Hope which took four months to reach Chennai, facing all oddities of storm, rain and hot sun and underwater current. There were instances of ship wrecks, drowning and loosing way and wandering on the high seas, distances of ships colliding and drowning were also there.

The vessel in which he embarked on his voyage, unfortunately came into collision with another vessel (a French vessel from Brazil to Havre). The vessel in which Caldwell was sailing was damaged a good deal and had to put into Plymouth to refit it. This was the only alarm they had to meet with, the rest of the voyage to Madras being pleasant and prosperous[15].

[10] Rev. Christadoss, Op.cit., p. 10.
[11] Ibid., p. 12.
[12] J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 8.
[13] Ibid., p. 9.
[14] Ulaga Thamizh Manadu Vilazha Malar, Op.cit., p. 9.
[15] J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 10.

In the course of the voyage, he lost a persistent cough which had adhered to him for several years. Had he stayed at home, he would probably have developed into consumption, from which two of his brothers died. It cannot be said, therefore, that even in regard to health he suffered any disadvantage from going out to India as a missionary[16]. During his voyage he made good and useful friendship with one of his fellow passengers namely Charles Philip Brown* of the Madras Civil Service and from him Caldwell learnt Telugu and Sanskrit and many things about India. The ship came to Chennai in 1838[17].

The missionaries and the government servants, who have come to serve at Madras have to learn the local language. For that purpose the college Fort St. George was founded in 1812 and where the local tongues were taught. The college has undertaken the study and extended financial support to scholars to write lexicon, grammar and language translation. One of the founders of this college was the great Tamil scholar linguist and Francis Whyte Ellis, the other was the great Telugu scholar A.D. Campbell Ellis had already made beginning in the linguistic study[18]. Some natives evinced interest in hearing great religious works recited to them by learned scholars. Many disciples of St. Sivagnanam stayed in Chennai. Similarly some disciples of Tiruvarur Vaidyanatha Navalar at Chennai. For instance, Ramanuja Kavirayar, Maealai Mahalingaiyar may be cited was for the first and Chidambara Pandateur and Kottaiyur Sivakkolunthu Tecikar for the Tiruvarur tradition[19]. However it is to be understood that, by that time, there were not much good works to study Tamil language (grammar). The

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[16] Ibid., p. 11.

* C.P. Brown was also a multilinguist. He was highly learned in Telugu and Sanskrit. He wrote the grammatical constructs of the Telugu language in English and published it in 1827. In appreciation of his research work, the Madras Government Education Society offered him 1000 Varahans. He translated in English the poetic pieces of Vemanna. By his great scholarship and lasting contributions, he became a well known scholar. See for further details. Nee. Kandasami Pillai, Op.cit., pp. 100-101.

[17] DLA NEWS, May 2000, Op.cit., p. 2.

[18] Nee Kandasami Pillai, Op.cit., p. 100-101.

[19] Nee. Kandasami Pillai, Op.cit., p. 17.

only book then available on Tamil grammar was the one on here in English and published in 1928. Its author was Robert Anderson. He served in Madras Government, on health grounds, he got voluntary retirement in 1818, returned to England and took up the Assistant Professorship of Eastern languages in the college run by the East India Company. Another work based on Veeramamunivar came out in 1836. These were works then available there[20].

On reaching Chennai, Caldwell stayed for three years since 1838 and prepared himself for the work he had chosen to do. Well known Tamil scholars, distinguished educationalists, missionaries and studious Government Servants became his friends. His well known friends included Mr. Taylor, Mr. Johnson, (students of Mr. Smith) Mr. Smith who was a London Missionary at Vepery, John Anderson[*], Rev. John Tucker. Rev. Calthrop, American Missionary Dr. Winslow, Physicist Dr. S. Scudder and Dr. Thomson Clarke belonging to the Government service was also close to Caldwell and Rev. Drew[*] a distinguished Tamil scholar, (he brought out a translated version of Thirukkural) to whom Caldwell owed a lot, for his interest in Tamil had been inspired and induced by him and Rev. Bower[*] who trained Caldwell in literary and colloquial Tamil. As said earlier Caldwell had a mastery over nearly 18 languages. This helped him write the Comparative Grammar, his classic production of immense and

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[20] Ibid., p. 98.

[*] Anderson was a great educationist of Chennai. He founded the Anderson School at Chennai in 1837; that at present grew into the Madras Christian College (Ibid., p. 102).

[*] Rev. W.H. Drew was a great Tamil scholar, who learnt Tamil from Ramanujakkavirayar at Chennai. He translated 63 *adhikaras* of Thirukkural in English. He helped Kavirayar to bring out *Thirukkural* with Commentary of Parimelalagar and *Nannul* with new commentary. He corrected some parts of *Cinthamani* and kept ready for publication (For further details see Nee. Kandasami Pillai, Op.cit., p. 103).

[*] Bower was another great Tamil scholar, who published *Cinthamani* with the commentary of Nacchinarkkiniyar and English sub-headings. He brought out essays on Jainism and upto Namagalilambakam in 1864. He learnt all about Jainism with Philosophy and literacy features from a Jain Monk at Tanjore. He translated the Bible in English and correct the part in praise. For this great service, the Arch Bishop of Canterbury conferred the *honoris cause* of the Doctor of Divinity (For further details see Nee. Kandasami Pillai, Op.cit., p. 102).

lasting value. Clarke a Government servant was the Sub Collector of Madurai. He was one among the few who built early houses in Kodaikanal, much served or serve even today a health resort. It was in this house that Caldwell lived for about seven months of his retired life and died[21]. Today, Kodaikanal is finding its place in the archaeological list of the history of Tamil Nadu. Thandikudi village is replete with archaeological antiquities and excavated objects. The Shenbaganur Library here is famous for its preservation of very valuable volumes.

When Caldwell stayed in Chennai, he understood the traditional Tamil learning method and the modern learning process, and the kind of the desire of the people to provide education for their children. The nature of Tamil and Tamil people were known to Caldwell through printed books and his contact with scholars[22].

Caldwell soon felt an inclination to join the Church of England and decided to take orders and enlist himself in the service of the Society for the Propagation of Gospel. Tinnevelly was the field which he chose to work, and in July 1841, he set out on foot from Madras to find the country of his choice. He felt that by walking leisurely, he could understand the language and culture of the people with whom he had to work[23]. On his way he could meet all kinds of people and learn their dialects. Infact dialects varied from place to place. In the border areas the spoken dialect is different from the written dialect. Similarly in Madras region and the south Tranvancore region dialects differed. Dialects differed from the Adi-Dravidians and the Adivasis. Likewise dialect differed among the Brahmins themselves.

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[21] DLA NEWS Op.cit., pp. 2-3. and Mrs. Persis Thomas, A Brevity of Bishop Robert Caldwell's Life and Works, A paper presented for V Annual Session of Tamil Nadu History Congress, 1998 Oct. M.S. University, Abishekapatti, Tirunelveli, p. 334.
[22] DLA NEWS, Op.cit., p. 3.
[23] Ibid., p. 3.

He travelled morning and evening and putting up generally in native rest houses. On the way he visited Pondicherry, Kumbakonam, Tranquebar, Trichinopoly and Metupalayam by foot. He made his way upto Ootacamund (Udagamandalam) where he was admitted by the Bishop Spencer to the Order of Deacon. On leaving the Nilgri Hills, he purchased a horse, intending to ride on it to Tinnevelly. Since it became so bad he sold it in Coimbatore. Since he got so accustomed to travelling on foot, he gave up the idea of looking for a horse, and continued his journey in this fashion through the three districts of Coimbatore, Madurai and Tinnevelly, right on to Idaiyagudi[24]. Finding his shoes an encumbrance he walked bare-footed through the black cotton plains of Madurai and Tinnevelly[25].

On his way Caldwell came across a few Nadar Christians of Tinnevelly for the first time at Madurai in 1841. He was struck by their appearance and graceful Salaam (Namaste – Vanakkam) with folded hands. He was also struck by their mild, subdued expression, so different from the ruffians he had been accustomed to further North. He also found them to be impressive and improvable. So perspicacious was Caldwell in studying the traits of the Nadars. During these days some thoughts flashed in his mind. Perhaps that impression made him write about them as his first work. This acumen in identifying the right type of people for missionary is vital for success[26].

Reaching Idaiyangudi

After crossing Tamerparani (Tamirparuni) he came to Palamcottach and reached the house of Mr. Pettitti, the church missionary. After a few days he reached

24 Rev. J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 74.
25 H.R. pate, Tinnevelly District Gazetter (1966), Publication Division, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, p. 396.
26 Dr. P. Kanagaraj, Centenary of the Tirunelveli Bishopric (1896 – 1996) Commemoration Souvenir, 1996, Impact of Caldwell's Missionary work on some select sons of Idaiyangudi.

Nazareth and Mudalur on the way. On November 28, 1941, an Advent Sunday, he preached his first sermon in Tamil in Tinnevelly in Mr. Cammerer's church, taking for his text those words in the Epistle for the day. "The night is far spent, the day is at hand". The next Sunday on December 5, he spent in Mudalur and then proceeded to Idaiyangudi; since he missed the direction, he reached Idaiyangudi late at night[27].

Idaiyangudi (the shepherdshire) was a renowned S.P.G. station in the extreme South of Tirunelveli District, so entirely a product of the labours of Dr. Caldwell. The village had earlier come under the influence of Geriche and Sathianathan. But the early converts, with no adequate supervision, had relapsed into Hinduism. It was among the wreck of these once Christian Congregation that the Caldwell was sent (1841) by the society to labour, to gather up the fragments that remained and to bring back which was lost. With such devotion and wisdom did Caldwell apply himself to his task that his rewards phenomenal. As a result the entire villages accepted Christ, churches and schools were rising apace. The Bishop of Hong Kong who visited Tirunelveli in 1853 pronounced Idaiyangudi to be a kind of model Christian settlement[28].

Caldwell found Idaiyangudi as a confused collection of mean houses tortuous lanes, a small church and a one roomed Bungalow. He set himself at once to buy up the whole site together with a few adjoining fields[29]. Caldwell was well aware that unless it was a planned township life here would be very miserable. Hence his plan to develop it into a beautiful model village. All located in and around the sand dunes of Nazareth, and Ovari under the scorching sun. To a dedicated servant of God, particularly to a person from a cold climate was unhealthy but lose it all for the cause of Christ. Amidst all difficulties he bought the lands from the locals, for the village. He drew a blue print

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[27] Rev. J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., pp. 77-78.
[28] D.S. George Muller; The Birth of a Bishopric, 1992, p. 56.
[29] H.R. Pate, Op.Cit., p. 396.

of the village with houses for the people to reside, church, school and bungalow. He decided to build few houses and then to ask the villagers to copy that to build houses for themselves. At first, he climbed up a tamarind tree and imagined the intersecting streets and houses, to be built, wells to be dug, school, Bungalow and a church to be raised. Then he implemented his plan in such a way to beautify the village. This was followed by planting neem (Azadirachta indica) and poovarsu (Thespesia populnea) trees on either side of the streets which added beauty and shadow to the village. Even the orthodox people admired this grant effort, after seeing the beauty of their village. They appreciated Caldwell and repose confidence in him. This made them receptive to his teaching of Christ and steadied them in their faith[30].

His Married Life

Caldwell at the age of 29 i.e., March 20th, 1844 married Eliza of 21 years, the eldest daughter of Rev. Charles Mault and Mr. Mault, Pioneer L.M.S. Missionaries at Nagercoil. They began their married life at Idaiyangudi[31]. Mrs. Mault helped her husband much in many ways, especially in female education. Hers was the first Female Boarding School ever established in Southern India, and it was by her that lace-making, which she had learnt as a girl at home, was first introduced. South Travancore owes much to those two pioneers of Missionary work, and if Tinnevelly has benefited by Mrs. Caldwell's lifelong labours, most of the benefit must be credited to the experience she acquired and the training she received in Nagercoil. One of her chief qualifications has always been her perfect knowledge of colloquial Tamil and she could not have acquired this in a better school than Nagercoil. Eventhough she went to England for her

[30] George Muller, Op.cit., p. 3.
[31] J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 180.

education, she never altogether lost the Tamil she acquired in infancy[32]. That shows that Eliza was in close contact with the natives of Nagercoil, where a mixed language of Tamil and Malayalam was spoken.

As it is said earlier Caldwell and his wife Eliza began their married life at Idaiyangudi. Eliza helped him greatly with his work by reason of her own knowledge of Tamil. Caldwell says that it was from her that he learned most of his colloquial and domestic Tamil[33]. Mrs. Caldwell was an excellent colleague to her husband in all undertakings[34]. Caldwell himself praised her that his wife was a confident friend, a good adviser of the oppurtune moment. He was the master of the house and his wife was the general of the house. Within a very short time (i.e., in May 1844) of her arrival to Idaiyngudi she started a Girls Boarding School and taught the girls to read and write. The people remarked "She may teach own our now." She thought in terms of the economic well being and upliftment of the people and decided to enhance the heads of the families through the efforts of their womenfolk, with that intension she introduced lace making among women which was to become a permanent branch of Industry[35]. Leaving much of the local work to his wife Caldwell devoted most of his time to outreach ministry.

Many children were born to them. The eldest Mr. R.C. Caldwell worked as a boy catehist for some time but moved on to a secular job in which Caldwell was not pleased with. His daughter Isabella was married to Rev. Wyatt, rendered yeoman service and assistance to Caldwell[36]. She was good at raising funds from foreign friends

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[32] Ibid., pp. 180-181.
[33] Ibid., p. 181.
[34] George Muller, Op.cit., p. 3.
[35] Ibid., p. 4.
[36] D.A. Christadass, Op.cit., pp. 144-145.

and relatives for the completion of the church and working of the Boarding School[37]. The Rev. J.L. Wyatt son-in-law of Caldwell was a Missionary at Trichinopoly, while Caldwell died at Kodaikanal. He was telegraphed at once to arrange for the funeral to be at Idaiyangudi[38]. The remains of Caldwell were committed to their last resting-place by the Rev. J.L. Wyatt[39]. It is remarkable that the Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell was edited by his son-in-law Rev. J.L. Wyatt. Caldwell's another daughter Louisa was married to an army Engineer F.S. Shephered. But she passed away soon after her marriage[40]. Their youngest son Addington served as a Doctor in Australia. He arrived Kodaikanal from Australia on a visit to attend his father on his last days[41]. It was he who preceded the mournful procession of the coffin of his father Caldwell as the representative of the family[42].

The church that Caldwell built at Idaiyangudi was of Gothic style and its beauty and grandeur lie in its windows[43]. Lord Napier and Lady Napier – 1868, the Governor of Madras who spent more than a week with the Caldwells, saw the Idaiyangudi church under construction. He admired the skill of local sculptors and carpenters who faithfully produced copies of the models which Rev. Caldwell made out of clay[44]. Impressed by the extreme beauty of a window (now it is adorning the eastern side of the church) and donated Rs. 500[45]/- as a mark of his appreciation. Dedication of the

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[37] Ibid., pp. 146-147.
[38] J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 183.
[39] Ibid., p. 187.
[40] Ibid., p. 170-171.
[41] J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 183.
[42] Ibid., p. 187.
[43] D.A. Christadoss, p. 234.
[44] D.S. George Muller, Op.cit., p. 6.
[45] R.P. Sethupillai, Op.cit., p. 26.

Holy Trinity Church took place on the 6th of July 1880[46]. St. Peters church of Kodaikanal was also built by Caldwell in 1886[*].

Social Service

As a priest he not only propagated Christianity, but also played the role of a doctor, philanthropist, and a magistrate. He felt that it was his duty and loving service to establish more and more schools to educate and civilize not only Christians but also other sects of the community and enable them to enhance their status in the society. He started to educate the illiterates and the ignorant heathens. His wife strove to make women as earning members of the family by teaching crafts to them. South Tirunelveli was badly affected by Cholera. The people of Tirunelveli believed in the efficacy of *Mantras* and *Tantras*. As worshippers of a multitude of Gods and Goddesses, they attribute every disease to the wrath of some god or goddess. Therefore to pacify them, they did sacrifices, even human sacrifices for getting relief from the disease and Anaikudi was particularly worsened by that. When Caldwell came to that village and prayed, deadly cholera stopped. Seeing that the Hindus too asked him to pray for them[47]. In 1869 when Tirunelveli experienced a flood never known before, Caldwell and his wife went from village to village and met the people, shared their sufferings, comforted them[48]. In this juncture the hospital he established at Idaiyangudi in 1870 with the help of Lord Napier, the then Governor of Madras, served as a saviour of the oppurtune moment[49]. In 1877-78 when Tirunelveli witnessed severe famine and outbreak of Cholera. Caldwell addressed himself to relief work among the entire community irrespective of caste and creed. This earned for him the affection and regard

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[46] Rev. J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 163.
[*] Mahaan V.C.D., Publishers, Holy Trinity Church, Idaiyangudi, 2005.
[47] Rev. D.A. Christadoss, Op.cit., p. 180.
[48] Ibid., p. 169.
[49] Ibid., p. 169.

of all and accounted for as many as 24,000 Hindus and Muslims embracing Christianity[50].

A scholar of International repute, it was natural for him to give importance to education at all levels. At Idaiyangudi itself Mrs. Caldwell and himself had opened schools for boys and girls and placed them on a sound footing. He was one of the pioneers in giving free mid-day meals* to 171 students of his schools[51]. His schools at Idaiyangudi served as a feeder institution for the seminary at Sawyerpuram. To meet the growing needs of the Christian population and congregation Arch Bishop of Calcutta made Rev. Caldwell as the Bishop of S.P.G. of Tinnevelly on 11th March 1877 at the historic consecration ceremony held at St. Pauls Cathedral, Calcutta. In the consecration Sermon Bishop Gell referred to Bishop Caldwell as one of the double stars[52], the other one was Rev. Sargent who was made Bishop for C.M.S. church in Tinnevelly. Along with this Bishopric, he carried on other educational works and propagation of Gospel. In the meantime, he was advised to reside at Tuticorin to make it as the head of S.P.G. in Tinnevelly owing to the facilities available at Tuticorin. When he was asked to reside in Tuticorin, his wife started Victoria Girls School to commemorate the 50th regnal year of Queen Victoria. Caldwell helped the shifting of the Caldwell College to Tuticorin. As a philanthropist he was moved by the pathetic condition of the Shanars and wanted to do good to their community in and around Idaiyangudi to redress their suffering. He picturesquely and faithfully portrayed the life, rituals, the hardships, poverty and hunger of Shanars. Besides, the humiliation heaped upon them and illtreatment they were suffering under the high caste people. He wrote

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[50] D.S. George Muller, Op.cit., p. 9.

* The Plague (the memorial) at the burial site of Rev. Barthalomeau Ziegenbalg says that he was the first to introduce mid-day meal system in his school at Tranquebar in the 18th Century itself.

[51] Bishop Robert Caldwells Journal for 1868.

[52] D.S. George Muller, p. 8.

all those in a small book, "The Tinnevelly Shanars", in 1849, having a ring of truth in it. The aim of this book was to take the worst and pathetic condition of Shanars to the notice of his friends and the people of England. This helped him educate the Shanars and ameliorate and mitigate their sufferings[53]. He did it with good intention to improve, the lot of Shanar Community. But it was misunderstood and mistaken by the Shanar Community itself. He earned their ill-will and enmity. It made him regret and withdrew that book (1881) with heavy heart[54]. The shanar community as whole world would not have resisted the book, but the educated microscopic minority perhaps at the instance of the high caste Hindus might have revolted against him. One or two caste Hindus sowed the seeds of discard, the whole Shanar Community reaped the harvest. This might have taken place under the pretext of conversion and proselitization of Hindus to Christianity. We have an instance of the high caste Pillamars rising in revolt at Palayamcottai for having admitted one or two Nadars (Shanars) in a Christian run school.

All the time the scholar and researcher mind in Caldwell was busy, producing several books of lasting value. Amidst Gospel service, Caldwell wanted to give shape to his acquired knowledge about Tamil grammar, which he learnt from native scholars, pandits and European scholars. On his way from Chennai to Tinnevelly, he crossed many places of dialectical differences – Puducherry, Kumbakonam, Thanjavur, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore, Metupalayam, Nilgris, Kodaikanal, Madurai which places he wanted to give shape and form. His critical and absorbing mind always, thought of doing a classical work on Tamil language, which he achieved in 1856. His Comparative Grammar of Dravidian or Family of South Indian Languages (1856) is still an

[53] R.P. Sethupillai, Op.cit., p. 108.
[54] D.A. Christadoss, Op.cit., p. 83.

irreplaceable classic on the subject[55], which has been an of object adoration and further researches until today. Caldwell felt all the time to know about the general history of the country where he is doing his religious service. However, he could not find a complete work on Tinnevelly. He felt sad that there were very few historians in Tinnevelly. From the very beginning of his arrival, he started reading the history of Tinnevelly, from various sources. Most of the information on ancient India was, at that time, available in German which was learnt by Caldwell for that purpose[56]. The collected materials for the *History of Tinnevelly* was published in 1881 with the support of the Government of Madras. It's history covering over 2000 years was recapitulated by him for the general understanding. His love for Tinnevelly is visible in every page[57]. He also wrote the *Records of the Early History of the Tinnvelly Mission* of the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge and the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He played a vital role in the translation work of The Bible and translated many hymns and also a prayer book; in addition, Caldwell found time for numerous pamphlets, the best known of which are those relating to demon worship in Tinnevelly[58]. Caldwell was also a research scholar of Archaeology. He wanted to excavate atleast one place noted by the Greek geographers. He selected Korkai and Kayal and did a bit of digging. Since the lack of enough facilities he could not succeed in these attempts[59]. Following Mr. James the archaeologist, Caldwell too undertook Archaeological excavations in Korkai. He was the pioneer to reveal that i) Korkai was a harbour ii) Trade was carried out and iii) Buddhism was prevalent there.

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[55] D.S. George Muller, Op.cit., p. 11.
[56] DLA NEWS Op.cit., p. 4.
[57] Ibid., p. 6.
[58] H.R. Pate, Op.cit., p. 398.
[59] DLA NEWS, Op.cit., p. 4.

In the words of Oscar Wilde "Any body can make history, only a great man can write it." By writing the history of Tinnevelly, Caldwell too is being placed among the men topping the list of great men. Such a great man's dwindling health forced him to resign his office as Bishop on January 31st January 1891[60]. He went to Kodaikanal with his family to spend the rest of his life there. As his health was deteriorating, he suddenly fell ill after six months of stay there. All efforts taken by his son Dr. Addington and other doctors to save his life proved futile. To add to the agony of his family and the people who loved him, he breathed his last at 9 A.M on 28th August 1891[61]. His family overcame all the hurdles and impossibles to fulfill the last desire of Caldwell (the people for whom I have lived)[62]. Amidst a huge concourse of mourners, his mortal remains were let to rest in a tomb beneath, the altar of the Holy Trinity Church, Idaiyangudi on 2nd September 1891[63].

In the obituary in The Times for October 19, 1981, it was rightly said of Bishop Robert Caldwell that Indian scholarship had lost one of its great original workers and, of his Comparative Grammar, that it would ever stand forth as one of the monumental works of the age[64].

If we may have a birds eye view of Caldwell's life, we could trace the following traits in him-i) the spirit of tolerance in him showed through his activities towards the people, caught in the hands of calamities at times irrespective of caste or creed. He did not differentiate between castes in respect of religion, in his social or educational works to brush a side the backward condition of this community. His spirit of enquiry go deep

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[60] "Thamilar Nakarikattain Chinnam Korkai Thuraimugam", Khariravan Tamil Daily, October 19, 1998. p.4.
[61] D.A. Christadoss, Op.cit., p.299.
[62] J.L.Wyatt., Op.cit., p.186
[63] D.A. Christadoss, Op.cit., p.306.
[64] Ulaga Tamil Manadu Vizah Malar, Chennai 1968, Two Scholars of "Dravidian" Caldwell and Pope, p.11

into the social condition of the Shanars. He lives in the heart of the Tamils through his famous work hardly ever known to the Dravidian Languages. His inquisitive mind revealed the hitherto unknown historical facts of the Tirunelveli region, and his archaeological excavations brought out the Korkai harbour to the light of the world. Posterity of Idaiyangudi will reckon him as a benefactor. His name and fame are still ringing not only in the ears of the people of Tirunelveli but also of India and the world in a wider sense, through the school (which bears his name) the handsome Church with its high sounding bells and the hospital at Idaiyangudi as well as the Caldwell Higher Secondary School and the newly opened Caldwell College at Tuticorin, and his contributions to Society, Language, History and Religion.

Much further researches have been done in Universities and other institutions about his Tamil grammatical findings Recently, the World Tamil Classical Conference has paid a handsome tribute to him by declaring Tamil a classical language on the sound arguments, already given by Dr. Caldwell in the 19^{th} century. Comparative Grammar, has opened new vistas of research and knowledge. However, much work has not been done on his views about history, archaeology and anthropology. His views about the Shanars as immigrants from Srilanka (Jaffna) still remains unsettled. It has evoked great sentiments and revolutionary works on the Shanras (Nadars) are coming out either in Tamil or in English or even in Malayalam. His works on Tinnevelly needs a complete revision as the early part of the work is sketchy. His concentration was more on the British period. It suffers from some wrong assumptions and conclusions. These have to be viewed in better perspective in the light of new evidences and studies. Besides, his religious work has to be updated with new findings.

To put it in a nut shell, it is apt to quote the words of his son-in-law Rev. J.L. Wyatt "Caldwell a man of wide and varied knowledge, a scholar of European reputation full of philosophic and practical wisdom yet he was content to live for half a century in a remote part of Tirunelveli, spending and being spent for the benefits of the people of that province. The Tirunelveli native church owes him a debt of gratitude it can never repay.[65]

[65] R.P. Sethu Pillai, Op.cit., p.126.

CHAPTER - II

CALDWELL AS A SOCIAL SCIENTIST

Study of the society as an independent subject came into existence following the postulations of Augustus comet, the Positivist Philosopher of France and Charles Darvoin, the Evolutionary thinker of England. Social history as an independent discipline entered educational institutions only after the publication of G.U.Trevelyan's *A Social History of England*. The study was further strengthened and popularised by the studies and publications of the famous *Annales School* of French historians March Bloch, Lucien Febrve Fernand and Braudel and Immanuel Le Roy Ladure. It received the attention of the Marxian historians of England only in the last century – Eric Hobswavn, C.P. Hill and E.P. Thomson. But, Caldwell, even before these schools took up studies of social problems and Communities, took up the anthropological and social aspects of a particular community in Tirunelveli in the sixteenth century. Perhaps Caldwell was influenced by the writings-field studies and observations of Bachofen, Levis Morgan and Engles – *Mother Right, Ancient Civilizations and Family, Private Property and the State Respectively*.

In India, social history was conceived as an area of research by the early Marxian historians, though some beginnings were already made a little earlier by European historians in the last century. Of the modern historians of social history of India. Sumit Sarkar occupies a pre eminent place. Among the historians of Tamil Nadu K.K. Pillay receives the prominent place. But all these historians, lived and contributed only in the twentieth century. K.K. Pillay's *A Social History of the Tamils* is said to be a model for social historians. However great this work, Caldwell, infact, laid the foundation for the study of communities from a socio-anthropological point of view.

History according to the Greeks meant an enquiry. The social historian makes enquiry into the past from the social point of view. He enquires about the life of the people in a particular period and region, religious, cultural, economic, political pursuit, etc. Prof. G.M. Trevelyan defined social history as the history of a people with the politics left out. Social history however does not mean everything that happen in society, but it is an attempt at understanding the life of men in the past, in its setting of societies and institutions'.[1]

"Social history" as K. K. Pillay deems "Primarily concern itself with the daily life of the people in the past, the character of family and household life as well as the objects in use including the household implements. It examines how the prevalent conditions of war or peace and the general nature of the administration influence the very day life of the people. It comprises the human as well as the economic relation of different classes to one another, the social stratifications and groups, occupations, crafts and trades, the conditions of labour and of leisure, the attitude of man to nature, the culture of each age as it arose out of those general conditions of life and the reflection of this culture on religion, literature, music, dance, architecture, learning and thought. Intimately connected with these, there appears the history of ideals and aspirations of manners, customs, and beliefs and superstitions"[2]

Social history therefore is an important area of enquiry and study of everyday life of men in society. It opens up the window to knowledge between human societies and their interdependence and interaction with nature. It helps to promote human

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1 Dr. G. Venkata Raman, Presidential Address, Socio-Economic History Section, Tamilnadu History Congress, VI Annual Session, 3rd and 4th October, 1999, Islamiah College, Vaniyambadi, p. 1.

2 K. K. Pillay, *A social History of the Tamils,* Madras. 1975, p. 4.

understanding. The understanding strengthens social harmony.[3] "History if it is to be truly profitable and illuminating, should deal as much with people as the kings and their courts".[4] The European sense of social history promoted Caldwell to flower into a social historian. Being the first eminent social historian his work only promoted other social historians with good intentions to embark on such works. Thinking that he was doing good, he produced the history of a certain community in its prevalent form. The *Shanars* then were an oppressed community by the caste-Hindus. Perhaps, Caldwell thinks, they are not the originals, but emigrants to this part. His work primarily concerns itself with the origin of the *Shanars,* their placement in the social hierarchy their relation with other castes and subjugations, mental capability, their families, status of women, their moral condition, living condition, surroundings, illtreatment meted out to them by higher castes, etc. He very picturesquely portrayed the aforesaid condition of the community in his inspiring work, *Tinnevelly Stanars.* One may be struck by the love that emanated from him towards Nadars, his intrepid courage and his incredible faith in the community.

Advent of Caldwell and the Tirunelveli Society in Transition

Why did he choose to write about the Shanars?

a) Idayangudi had Shanars dominant:

Caldwell himself says that, though the village was founded by shepherds, he found not a single shepherd in it on his arrival. The inhabitants were mostly *Shanars*, with the usual addition of a few families of goldsmiths, dyers, oilmen, washermen, etc. The only Christians in the place were Shanars, of whom there were about 300; about

[3] M. Immanuel, The Dravidian Lineages, A Socio Historical Study. The Nadars Throught the Ages, p. XXVI.

[4] P. Subramanian, *Social History of the Tamils* (1707 – 1947, New Delhi, 1999, preface, p.6.

200 persons of the same class were heathens still, and this heathen minority included some persons belonging to the higher division of the caste who had been Christians originally and had relapsed before the arrival of the European Missionaries.[5]

b) Shanar's obedience and honest, at Caldwell's first look:

He saw some Shanar Christians from Tinnevelly at Mr. Hubbard's house. Stating about them he writes, he was struck by their long ears, long pendent earrings, long hair tied in a knot behind the head like women, their presents of sugar candy, and their graceful salaam with folded hands and their mild, subdued expression, so different from the rough forwardness of further north.[6]

c) Place of Nadars in the Social Hierarchy during Caldwell's time

P. Subramanian a historian of modern social history, expresses the debased condition of Shanars in his work Social History of the Tamils such as they were treated as untouchables, forced to pay a number of taxes, their women denied the right of using upper garments.[7] All these have become the history of the past. It was true of the times of Caldwell. Social hierarchy; The caste of Shanars occupies a middle position between the Vellalars and the Paraiar slaves. In general they may be described as belonging to the highest division of the lower classes, or the lowest of the middle classes; poor, but not paupers; rude and unlettered, but by many degrees far removed from a savage state.[8]

In his opinion in some respects the position of the *Shanars* in the scale of castes is peculiar. Their abstinence from spirituous liquors and beef, and the circumstance that

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[5] J.L. Wyatt, op.cit., p.80.
[6] I bid., p. 77.
[7] P. Subramanian, op. cit., p. 40.
[8] Rev. R. Caldwell, op.cit., p.4

their widows are not allowed to marry again, connect them with the *Sudra* group of castes. On the other hand, they are not allowed, as all *Sudras* are, to enter the temples; and where old native usages still prevail, they are not allowed even to enter the courts of justice, but are obliged to offer their prayers to the gods and their complaints to the magistrates outside and their women, like those of the castes still lower, were obliged to go uncovered from the waist upwards. These circumstances connect them with the group of castes inferior to the *Sudras;* but if they must be classed with that group, they are undoubtedly to be regarded as forming the highest division of it.[9] Though the *Shanars* rank as a caste with the lower classes and though the greater number of them earn their daily bread by their daily labour, pauperism is almost unknown amongst them. The great majority, it may be said, that they are equally removed from the temptations of poverty, and riches, equally removed from the superficial polish and subtle rationalism of the higher castes, and from the filthy habits and most hopeless degradation of the agricultural slaves.[10]

Early Tamil Nadu had no caste hierarchy therefore no Sudras. If Sudras in the Aryan scale is to be applied, it will well fit not with the Vellalars[11]. Nadars are said to have East Asian blood Ezhavars of Eurasian blood. Strength of the theory : Nadars are found widespread in the southern most districts the erstwhile Ramnad, Tirunelveli, Madurai, South Travancore upto Cochin.

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9 The Rt. Rev. R. Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts*, Higginbotham, Madras, 1881, pp. 44-45

10 Ibid., p. 45.

11 My Co. Guide's Views : Early Tamil Nadu had no caste hierarchy, and therefore no Sudra caste. If the four fold division is applicable to the Tamil Society, then the position of the Sudras is offered to the Vellalars and other agriculturists. (K. Sadasivan, "Villavar Lineage of the Ceras: An Archaeo – Historical Study", in T.P. Sankarankutti Nair edition of *The Last Phase of Monarchy:* A test script *for Sri Uthirandam Thirumal Maharaja,* Thiruvananthapuram, 2011, pp.68-70).

d) Shanars wretched condition: defiling social status

The hierarchy occupation of the Shanars, as the time and space warranted, was that of cultivating and climbing palmyrah palm. They boil the juice into a coarse sugar. A considerable number have become cultivators of the soil, as land owners, or farmers or are engaged in trade.[12]

In many respects, their character was as peculiar as their social position. They were peculiarly docile and tractable peculiarly fitted to appreciate the advantages of sympathy, guidance and protection, and peculiarly accessible to Christian influence. Though inferior to many of their neighbours in intellectual attainments, they were by no means inferior to them in sincerity. The chief faults dissimulation, litigiousness, and avarice were the faults of all Hindus; but with respect, atleast, to dissimulation, the first and worst of those faults; experience testifies that of all Hindus they were the least guilty. The strong points of the Hindu character were patience, good humour, and natural courtesy, and in these particulars the Shanars were quite on a level, with the rest of the Hindus. Their patience had no limits.[13]

Demonolatry or the worship of evil spirits, prevailed among the Shanars. The popular superstitions of the Hindus may be divided into two classes viz., the higher or more classical Hinduism, consisting in the worship of the Gods and Goddesses, heroes and heroines of the Brahmanical pantheyon, and the lower of pre-Brahmanical superstition deriving it's origin of devils.[14] Bloody sacrifices were offered to appease the anger of the demons; but the most important and essential feature in the worship of all demonolaters was the "devil dancer", who wished to represent the demon, signs and

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[12] The Rt. Rev. R. Caldwell, op. cit., p.4
[13] I bid., p. 46.
[14] I bid., p. 47.

dances himself into a state of wild frenzy, and leads the people to suppose that the demon they were worshipping had taken possession of him; after which he communicated to those who consulted him the information he had received. The votaries of this system were the most sincerely superstitious people in India. The demonolaters literally "believe and tremble". In times of sickness, especially during the prevalence of cholera, it was astonishing with what eagerness, earnestness, and anxiety the lower classes worshipped their demons.[15]

Shanars were ruled by Demonism in one shape or another. A few of the demons were forms of Kali and Ammen. The places in which the demons were worshipped were commonly termed, "Pe-coils", or 'devil temples'. Temples were simple and without any architectural pretentions.[16] They offer goats, sheep, fowls to appease the anger of the demons, remove the calamities they have inflicted or to abstain from inflicting the calamities.[17] The grand national festival of *Shanars* was first day of the solar month of Adi, in memory of Ravana the Racshasaking of Ceylon. It was believed that on that day he carried away Sita the wife of Rama Mahodara, the Prime Minister of Ravana was believed to have been a Shanar. Shanar's glory in the historical position was gained by a member of their caste. So they rejoiced over Rama's grief and in Ravana's joy. This point to the Cingalese origin of Shanar caste and their anti-Brahmanical zeal.[18] Owing to demonolatry obliterated the idea of man's accountability for his actions, and consequently fails to exercise any moral restraint. In their calculations the past is past forever, and the present is independent of the future. They would not hesitate to tell a profitable lie or commit a pleasant sin.[19] The demonolatry of

[15] I bid., p.49.
[16] I bid., p.17.
[17] I bid., p.21.
[18] I bid p.28.
[19] I bid., pp. 32-35.

the *Shanars* equality with the idolatry of the higher castes disconnected the idea of moral duty from the theory of religious faith and worship. Consequently it fails to exercise any moral restraint. Lying and licentiousness, pride and anger are not forbidden.[20] No prayers or gifts are ever offered to their devils and Ammens for the acquisition of virtuous habits or peaceful tempers. A man who had committed a highway robbery straight way offers sacrifice to the devil to prevent him from getting jealous of his success and bringing upon him the terrors of the law.[21] The *Shanars* who extract the palmyrah juice, avoid the use of it in a fermented state.[22] Alms giving was the only moral duty expressly taught by the Brahmanical religion.[23] The litigiousness of the *Shanars* is generally considered one of the most characteristic features of the caste.[24] The Shanars of Tinnevelly, though as a class poor, uneducated, and in a low state of civilization, with few exceptions, they are proprietors of land.[25]

Amongst *Shanars* it frequently happened that no person concerned in the dispute, whether litigant or arbitrator, is able to read or write. All depend upon some clever rogue who acts as secretary and registrar to the council, insert or omit a few important words infavour of one of the parties.[26] The *Shanars* generally are illiterate, destitute of principle, and on the verge of pauperism.[27] The langour and apathy produced by the heat of the climate exert considerable influence upon the condition of the Shanars morally, socially and intellectually.[28] The great majority of the people are not only unable to read, but unwilling to learn or to allow their children to learn. The only persons who know one letter form or another belong to the class of Nadar land

[20] I bid., pp.36-37.
[21] Ibid., p.37.
[22] Ibid., p.38.
[23] Ibid., pp.41.
[24] Ibid., pp.49-50.
[25] Ibid., pp.53-54.
[26] Ibid., p.52.
[27] Ibid., p.53
[28] Ibid., p.55.

owners. Women never learned to read, uneducated condition is partly due to their intellectual dullness.[29] They are hardworking, stupid, always go to sleep when their work is over, and are not accustomed to think.[30] They follow the multitude to do evil and they follow the multitude to do good. They think in herds.[31] During the colonial period they have considered their subjection to the East India Company's Government and the introduction of the rudiments of English Law as priceless blessings.[32] No insurrections no riotous insubordination, no disloyalty, have ever been laid to their charge. Though taxed, like all Hindus, under all successive Governments beyond their ability more submissive tax-payers are no where to be met with in the world. They are industrious.[33] The staple food of the sandy districts is the palmyrah and all that were related to it.

Caldwell hoped that the description has given the general characteristics of the class, especially of their demonolatory and its consequences, will enable the English reader to form a tolerably correct idea of the condition of the heathens and the prospects of Christianity in Tinnevelly.

His views about the Shanars: etimological study of the word:-

Nadar/Gramani/Shanar: One of the major communities in South India, the Nadars are distributed particularly in the southern districts of Tamil Nadu and in the adjoining southern districts of Kerala[34]. They claim that the name Shanan is derived from the Tamil word Sanror, meaning learned or noblemen. Thurston states that the word Nadar means, ruler of a country or village, or one who lives in the country and

[29] Ibid., p.61.
[30] Ibid., p.65.
[31] I bid., p. 69.
[32] I bid., p. 72.
[33] Ibid.
[34] People of India, National Series, Volume VI, India's Communities, N-2, K.S. Singh, Anthropological Survey of India, Delhi, 1998, p. 2511.

has the title Shanan. The word Shanan is derived from the word saru meaning juice. The Shanan later preferred to call themselves Nadars[35] Traditionally, the Nadars were toddy-tappers.

Samuel Sargunar, a Christian Nadar, published a small pamphlet (1883) where he tried to reconstruct the glory of the Nadar past on the basis of etymological analysis of the word Shanar.[36] He denied the low status of the community. He stated that the word *Shanar* was infact a corruption of *Shandrar,* the Tamil word meaning the learned or "the noble man". The claims soon created a linguistic imbroglio which remained unsettled even with the compilation of the *Tamil Lexicon* in 1900 of the word *Shanar* could be found either in Tamil literature or in inscriptions. *Shanar* is ordinarily derived from *Saru* meaning toddy.[37] The Census Superintendent in 1891 notes that a learned missionary derived the word from *san* (span) and *nar* (Fibre or string), that is the noose, one span in length, used by the *Shanars* in climbing palm-trees.[38] For Sargunar, however, and the Nadar caste historians to follow him, *Shandrar* was the key word, and taking it to refer to his particular community, he reconstructed the history of the Nadars through the references in Tamil literature using the word. Since Shandrar, "the noble man" was used frequently to refer to the kings of Tamil Nadar, the Nadars were taken to the ancestors of these rulers and therefore Kshatriyas.[39]

Caldwell accepted *Shanar* as a corruption of *Shandrar,* but he did not equate reference to the specific class with the term of distinction as it was more boldly used.[40] *Shandrar* was also used according to K.V. Soundra Rajan, Superintendent of the

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35 Ibid.
36 "Shanar characteristics" Letter from a "non-Shanar", Madras Mail, July 12, 1899.
37 Letter from "W" *Madras Mail,* June 30, 1899, Reply from "a Shanar" dismisses the derivation from *Saru* as "Childish", *Madras Mail,* July 4, 1899.
38 *Census of India,* 1891 Vol.XIII p.297. In an interview a young Nadar Christian gave the same derivation, indicating the meaning as "you need on span of fibre for your living".
39 Robert L. Hardgrave, J.R., The Nadars of Tamilnad, Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 81.
40 The Rev. R. Caldwell, Op., cit, p.4

Archaeological Survey of India, Madras, in regard to a group of Cobblers were “hardly kings”. This class, commonly called “*Shanars*” had a secondary occupation of toddy-tapping. The term, he suggests, may have been applied to the caste of exclusive tappers.[41] Sargunar took every use of *Shandrar,* so as to refer specifically to the *Shanar* community. The three nouns, *shandror, Shandrar,* and *Shandravor* are all, he said, derived from the root sal, meaning great or abundant. “The persons denoted by the word (Shandrar) are the *Shanars* or Kshatriyas, learning having been their speciality as much as palm wine.[42] One of the most learned of the *Shandrars* according to Sargunar, was Enadinatha Nayanar, one of the sixty three apostles of Siva.[43]

In 1883, Samuel Sargunar published another pamphlet, presenting the Nadars as learned Kshatriyas, and attacked Caldwell for having drawn a “dark picture” of the condition and status of the community in *Tinnevelly Shanars,* published thirty four years ago. *Shanars* were reduced to servitude because they were defeated by higher castes. *Shanar,* he says that, toddy-tapping was not infact a low occupation. “In truth, palm juice was esteemed a luxury, fit to be consumed by the Kshatriyas, and Brahmins. It was regarded as the earthly counterpart of the celestial nectar of the Gods.[44] T.V. Duraisamy equates Nadar with Kshatriyas, Nadar is the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit word Kshetra. Kshetra is the root word of Kshatriya, meaning country. Nadu is the root word of Nadar, meaning country. Both are the same.[45]

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[41] Hardgrave, Op., cit., p.81. Footnote.

[42] Samuel Sargunar, Bishop Caldwell and the Tinnevelly Shanars, Palamcottah, 1883, p.12. “The Shanars: who are they,” Madras Mail June 19, 1899.

[43] Sargunar, Op.cit., p.16.

[44] Sargunar, Op.cit., pp.17-18, 13-14.

[45] T. Vijaya Duraisamy Gramani, Op.cit., pp. 67-68.

a) *Origin – place of – origin – various theories Caldwell, Hardgrave, Ponnaiah, Immanuvel and others:-*

A concise content analysis of his book the *Tinnevelly Shanars* becomes imperative. Discussing the origin of the *Shanars* infer that *Shanars* were emigrants from the northern coast of Ceylon, where the same or similar caste still exists, bearing a grammatical and intelligible form of the same name *Shandrar* (cantrar) of which *Shanar* is etymologically a corruption. Ilavars and Teers (i.e., 'Cingalese' and 'Islanders') who still cultivate the coconut palm in Travancore, are descendants of *Shandrar* colonists from Ceylon. *Shanars* the inhabitants of Tinnevelly, came from the neighbourhood of Jaffna in Ceylon. One portion of them, called *Nadars* entered Tinnevelly by way of Ramnad, brought with them seed nuts of the Jaffna palmyrah and settled in the sandy waste lands of the south east of Tinnevelly.[46] The other portion (lower division of the caste) came by sea to the south of Travancore. Vast numbers of them are still found there. He says that Nadars of Tinnevelly invited them and employed them as climbers of palmyrah. Syrian Christians of Travancore asserted that one portion of the tribe, the Ilavars were brought over from Ceylon by their ancestors, for the cultivation of the coconut palm. According to him, the *Shanars,* though probably emigrants from Ceylon are Hindus not of the Brahmanical, but of the Tamil or aboriginal race; the inhabitants of the Northern Coast of Ceylon being themselves Tamilians – the descendants, either of early Tamil colonists, or of the marauding bands of Cholas who are said repeatedly to have made irruptions into Ceylon both before and after the Christian era.[47]

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[46] The Rev. R. Caldwell, Op. cit., pp.4-5.
[47] Ibid., p.5.

Origin

Robert L. Hardgrave chose to discuss two theories of the origin of Nadars. One is the mythological origin. The story of the miraculous birth of the Nadars. Seven Sons of God and the seven virgins. Second one is the theory of Caldwell. He tried to establish the Nadars as "emigrants from the northern coast of Ceylon". Worship of Mother Goddess was very popular in the Harappan Culture, pointing to the importance attached to the Mother – Mother Goddess and matrilineal succession with Dravidian society before the advent of Brahmanism. One of the deities worshipped in ancient Tamil Nadu was *Korravai*, the counterpart of her is Kali, the famous Goddess of the Bengalees. This *Korravai* or *Kali* is later synthesised with Goddess Parvathi, the daughter of Parvath, the Himavan of the Himalayas. Belonging to the Dravidian ethnic family, the Nadars (*Shanars*) might have come from the Eastern parts of the globe to southern India, from where they would have gone upto the Indus valley. The story of the birth of seven sons to Narayana and seven Virgins is Vaishnava form of the birth of Karthigeya – Murga or Subramanya. Such stories like the one narrated in the *Keralolpathi* about the creation of Kerala by Parasurama and story of Mavali – Varana before the Brahmanic colonisation of Kerala could not be verified and their veracity established. These stories floated only to establish their antiquity under Brahmanic influence.

H.R. Pate accredited the mythological origin of Nadars. At the same time he accepts that this popular account does not form any part of the "learned" version. The founders were the sons of seven maids – Kannis-formed from the eye sight of the God Narayana. They were brought up by Bhardrakali on the milk of the cow of the God Indra. Even today Bhadrakali is the household deity of the community. Then he

narrates the story of the breach and flood after flood threatened Madurai District. The king ordered the seven boys to carry mud in baskets and close the breach. But the Shanan boys replied that, their heads were made to carry, crowns, and not baskets, and refused to obey the king. The furious king ordered one of the boys to be buried in the sand upto his neck. An elephant came and kicked off the boy's head, and then the head was thrown into the river. The others were still defiant and a second victim was treated likewise. As his head floated down the stream, it cried out: shall this head prove false to the other? When the king heard it he was appeased. From each of the remaining five, originated a sub division of the caste. They were (i) Manattan (Karukkumattaiyan) (ii) Menattan (iii) Kodikkal or Nattati Shanan (iv) Kaveripurathan (v) Pulukka Shanan[48] The story of the breach and flood of river Vaigai, the origin of Nadars from the remaining five sons of the *Kannis*[49] is also found mentioned in the work of Robert L. Hardgrave. He says that the Cauvery region of the Chola Country, Madurai and South Travancore are the areas of Nadar origin[50]. The sub-divisions of the caste, as it is mentioned by H.R. Pate, is also mentioned by Hardgrave. They are Karukkupattayar, Mel-Nattar, Nattatti, Kodikal and Pulukka Shanan[51].

Nadars as they are observed by Templeman

Temple man is of the opinion that the Nadars of South India over the past century and a half, have moved upward in the hierarchy of their region from a status just above 'untouchability' to a solid, forward caste position – from lowly toddy-tappers to respectable business persons. In the process, they have become relatively

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[48] H. R. Pate, Op. cit., 1993, p.129.
[49] Robert L. Hardgrave, Op.cit., p. 19-20.
[50] Ibid., p. 20.
[51] Ibid., pp. 32-34.

wealthy, educated in the western style, politically prominent and quite urbanised[52]. This view confirms the status of *Shanars* over the past century definitely achieved by the tireless work of missionaries such as Caldwell. Moreover Caldwell's writing of *Shanars* won the sympathy of Englishmen, inturn it helped the *Shanars* upliftment, undoubtedly, Templeman says that the area of the Nadars highest concentration includes the southern most district of Tamil Nadu, from Kanyakumari district at the tip of the Indian sub-continent as far north as Madurai district[53].

Traditionally, the Nadars were toddy tappers. Regarding their origin, Gladstone (1984) contradicted the view of Caldwell. He opines that, they hail from Madurai and Travancore, and the Cauvery region of South India[54].

In this regard there is a mention of the legendary or mythical origin of the Nadars. According to it the Saptha Kanyakas gave birth to seven children through Lord Krishna. When they were abandoned, they were brought up by Bhadrakali. During their childhood they were given limed toddy (akkani) in place of milk. One of them learned to tap toddy, prepare akkani and jaggery, and adopted it as his occupation. He is considered to be their mythical ancestor. Tamil is their mother tongue[55]. Accepting this legend, M. Immanuel mentions that the shannars are called *Kali Puthrar* (the sons of Kali or Bhatrakali, the great Bellona of India) and this Goddess is considered as their tutelary deity[56]. This legend has to be subjected to scientific scrutiny. Many such legends and myths were created only to boost the morale of Tamilian communities following Brahmanization of Tamil Nadu. Such legends / myths evolved only from the Brahmanical religion which, in course of time, affected Jainism and Buddhism too.

[52] Denis Templeman, Op.cit., p.1.
[53] Ibid., p. 2.
[54] People of India, National Services, Op.cit., p. 2511.
[55] Ibid., p. 2511.
[56] M. Immanuel, Op.cit., p. 108.

Though Claude Levi Strauss says that myths can yield historical reminiscences, here this story cannot be scientifically proved.

Regarding the divisions of *Nadar Jatis* Templeman quotes the views of Thurston. The five original *jatis* are *Karukkupattayar*, Mel-nattar, Nattati, Kodikal and Kalla[57]. (Pulukashanan) Joseph Mullen's opinion of the origin and profession of Nadars are as follows. The people of Tirunelveli district, with few exceptions to a single tribe and call themselves *Shanars*. The *Shanars* are a portion of the great aboriginal *Tartar* race which first overran the soil of India. There were other tribes also such as Vellalas, Reddis, Gentus, Maravas, Pariahs and Pallar. But, undoubtedly, the great bulk, about half the entire population of the district are *Shanars*[58]. Where no rice is to be had, they rely mostly on the palmyrah products, which form a part of their food. Most *Shanars* climb fifty trees per day. Some are capable of climbing sixty trees. They are very hard working and surely very few races could be said to be more hard working than they are[59]. These people though they have all the facilities at hand for making toddy, do not allow their palm juice fermented. Hence it could be concluded that they are not at all a drunkard tribe. They spent the days in strenuous work which at last yields a little more than their bare necessities. Some among them are called panaieries (the climbers). But, all do not have a hand to mouth living. Some among them are men of property, holding small estates of their own, have influence and contribute a better class, called Nadars or land holders. These *Nadars* either lease their palmyrahs and collect the produce or engage these panaieries under them and get the work done[60]. Joseph Mullen says that the *Shanars* are to a small extent Hindus. They are, of course, not Hindus in caste, but

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[57] Ibid., p.26.
[58] Joseph Mullers, Missions in South India, p. 94-95.
[59] Ibid., p. 96.
[60] Ibid., p. 96.

partially bound by the laws of caste. They form a caste by themselves and as they occupy altogether one locality, they can act almost as if they were not a caste at all[61].

Traditions of the Solar, and Lunar races claiming *Shanar* caste to Kshatriya origin are mythological. The Nadars Kshatriya origin faced criticism. Still then there are some justifications defending the Kshatriya claims of Nadar caste. Kshatriya Nadar were Dravidian rulers of the South of the Peninsula and Ceylon, seems very probable[62].

Social Hierarchy : Status of the Caste Hindus

Next to Brahmins, comes the caste Hindus – the Naidus, the Reddis, Vellalar, the Chettis merchans, Konars – shepherds, cultivators etc. The Naidus and the Reddis sprung from Telugu origin and lived in luxury and comfort. They were the descendants of those men of adventures who followed the fortunes of Vijayanagar generals[63]. They were rewarded for their services by donation of uncultivated lands in the Northern part of Tirunelveli. They constituted the middle class and formed the major population of the towns.

"More Brahman than the Brahman the Vellalars (known by their tile Pillai) held themselves aloof from the lower castes. A Vellala who wanted to command respect gave up meat eating, performed daily worship in their own houses and read the Vedas. The Vanniyars and Kammalars wore threads and shaved their faces clean to look like the Brahmin while women adopted Brahmin fashions in their dress. In some temples they performed priestly functions. They considered Christianity as a foreign religion and as the religion of the lower caste and did not follow it[64].

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[61] Ibid., p. 110.
[62] Hardgrave, Op.cit., p. 86.
[63] Caldwell Robert, The Tinnevelly Mission Madras, 1849, pp. 39-40.
[64] Hutton, J.H. Caste in India, Cambridge, 1946, pp. 59-61.

Status of Shanars

The caste of Shanars occupies a middle position between the Vellalars and the Paraiar slaves. Their hereditary occupation, as the time and space warranted, was that of cultivating and climbing palmyrah palm. They boil the juice into a coarse sugar. A considerable number have become cultivators of the soil, as land owners, or farmers or are engaged in trade. In general they may be described as belonging to the highest division of the lower classes, or the lowest of the middle classes; poor, but not paupers; rude and unlettered, but by many degrees far removed from a savage state[65].

Occupation and Economy

The shanar economy centred on the palmyrah / palm then the only commercially viable agricultural crop in the teris[66] Caldwell's remark of the *Shanars* found in Templeman's book; Shanars who extract the palmyrah juice, avoid its use in the fermented status as carefully as the most punctilious Brahmins. Some expressed the conviction to Caldwell that the Nadars had once been drunkards. Templeman gives two possible explanations for this apparent contradiction. Firstly it may be an attempt on the part of some of the *Nadar's* neighbours to deny them recognition of the high status, they claim (Kshatriya status). Secondly, *Shanars* may once have consumed the toddy they produced, but had given up the practice by the time Caldwell arrived-perhaps under the influence of the Christian Missionaries[67]. Affirming the view of Caldwell, Templeman says that he had not seen and reported prior to Caldwell's pamplet that the shanars drank[68].

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[65] Ibid., p. 4.
[66] Dennis Templeman, Op.cit., p. 20.
[67] Ibid., pp. 23-24.
[68] Ibid., p. 23.

Their Creed

Shanars had a form of religion in those days which was full of superstition. They worshipped devils out of fear, that is if they do not do this or that, something evil or serious and drastic will occur in their homes. They feared the power at work both in sky, and on earth and close around them; this is nothing but nature worship; the only reaction was the wild devil dances of the priest[69], a form of devil dance related to the worship of Velan. M.A. Sherying says that Shanars were degraded by devil worship, pei worship emanated from the considerations of ghosts. But they were not slaves of the soil like others of the lower order, not addicted to drinkenness, as is the practice among many other classes[70]. Caldwell had dealt with this people more closely and spent more years probably his entire life time. So his statement could be relied upon.

The origin of devil worship is unknown, but it is sure it did not originate from Brahminism. The devil worship has two forms devil dancing and bloody sacrifices. The ignorant people without any idea just offer sacrifices of a fowl, goat or pig to these devils to appease their anger[71]. Supreme Being was primitive and born of ignorance. Their usual term Lord or Ruler to signify God, does not denote a Divinity or a Devil, and they use it as a general term without any specific significant. So, it is clear that they do not have any idea of the existence of God. They do not have any written records regarding this and the only source from where we could gain knowledge of their God is from the old people of the village[72]. Perhaps, they worshipped devils since they believed that these devils did harm to them. It was universal in remote times.

[69] The South Indian Mission of the CMS, p. 46.
[70] M.A. Sherying, The History of Protestant Missions in India, p. 248.
[71] R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 21.
[72] Ibid., p. 8.

They believed, the dewelling places of these devils were the Tamarind trees, the Banyan trees, or the palmyrah trees. So these people built temples under such trees and offered sacrifices; when such sacrifices were being offered it was believed that the devils smelt the odour descended unseen from the tree and joined the gathering to take part in the feast. The temple was not exactly a temple in the modern sense, but a heap of earth which is built into a pyramidal shape and it was white washed occasionally with red stripes in between. They offered their scarifies upon this mound. It was usually from five feet to eight feet in height[73]. Sacrifices, even human beings were done by a group of Brahmins called the *Parppar* in Tamil. They were experts witchcrafts, as mentioned in Athervaveda. By doing sacrifices, the status of a society could not be belittled.

In the memoir of Rhenius his son says that the Shanars and Pariahs were usually very dirty, ignorant and of wild appearance, particularly in this country. They could hardly be said to have character. They live almost like the brute creations and every vice is common among them. They were not without abilities but still seem to be a degree atleast, behind the *Sudras*. Doubtless, the reason was the abject state of slavery in which they had been, and their desires did not extend beyond the support of their bodies. Ofcourse, their ideas and conversations reach no further than the employment in which they were engaged[74]. The above description seems to be a little exaggerated, but it is a clear indication of their most backward position and the poor status they held in the society. In the 19th century, *Shanars* were an underprivileged and illiterate sect. So when they were given privileges and an opportunity to exploit their talents, they were happy. They understood that it was to a large extent through the Christian Missionaries, and so followed their religion. Child-marriage had been prevalent throughout the

[73] R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 18.
[74] Memoir of Rhenius, . . . by his son, p. 241.

district and remarriage of the widows was very rare. The widow's not in life was tragic[75]. These were practices they might have borrowed from the Brahmins, among whom child-marriage, paying (dowry), prohibition of widow remarriage were prevalent. Similarly, they encouraged the practice of endogamous marriages (marriage of the kins).

Cornelius Nadar says that, as a result of their great sin of pride, God punished their community with inferior status. He did not defame their profession (Palmyrah climbing), but championed that the palmyrah itself is, as sacred to Siva, the Hindu Tree of Life[76]. The Nadar caste historians explained the fallen state of the community as a product of the Kaliyuga, the present age of decline in which the purity of caste observances have been subverted[77]. Another story says that, with the utterance of a *mantra* (of God), a sacred formula, the trees would bend their heads to the ground and the sap would pour freely into the awaiting pots. But, when a wicked Kshatriya offended the gods, they cursed the *mantras*. Since then the trees have had to be climbed and they remain obstinately perpendicular[78].

The *Shanar* it is stated, "have risen enormously in the social scale by their eagerness for education, by their large adoption of Christianity and by their thrifty habits. Many of them have forced themselves ahead of the Maravar by sheer of forced characters[79]. Bishop Caldwell was hostile towards the Maravar because they acted against the *Shanars*. It is clear from the following view, that Bishop Caldwell's hostile

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[75] J.A. Sharcock, South Indian Mission, p. 247.
[76] J.S. Cornelius Nadar, *Amarar Puranam, Being the Antiquities of the Gods of India,* Salem, p. 233.
[77] Rajah Baskara Sethupathi V. Irulappan Nadan, P. 75.
[78] Arthur Margoshis, "Tinnevelly : Being an account of the District, the people and the Missions, Mission Field, XLII October 1893, p. 392.
[79] Edgar Thurston, 1906, p. 373. (On Tamil Militarism all part essay, part 6 Bishop Caldwell and the Tamil Dravidians, prepared by Sachi, Srikantha, for electronic record, 15 July, 1992, p. 4.

attitude towards the Maravar arose from the blood violence they unleashed on the *Shanar*, large numbers of who were embracing the protestant faith[80].

The Nadars were unusually receptive to Christian teaching. This was largely because of the increase in social status that could be effected through conversion to the faith[81]. Hardgrave, a specialist in Nadar History writes of other mass conversions of Nadars to Christianity in the 1840s, in the late 1870s and largely in the 1880s and by the end of the 19th century, the Nadar's, he writes, "............... had the greatest number of Christians in the Madras Presidency, divided about equally between the Roman Catholics and the protestants"[82]. Geoffrey Oddie made use of the views of Caldwell, i.e. "generally conversion to Christianity is found to raise rather than lower then in the social scale". Unlike higher caste converts, the shanars who converted in groups together, did not lose status, and were not usually ejected from the broader caste com much........ Not only did they not lose caste, but as Hardgrave has pointed out, having connections with the C.M.S or other Protestant Missions, provided them with a network of opportunities in education and in other activities that had the effect of greatly improving the community's social standing[83].

Christianity and Christian agencies raised the people. The degraded superstitions of them, old devil worship had dragged them and their forefathers down for generations, the knowledge of God raised them in mind and spirit, in habits and aims. Education expanded their capacities and Christian teachings led them by degree along the paths of honesty and truthfulness[84].

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80 Ibid., p. 3.
81 Susan B. Harper, A Biography of Azhahiah, p. 12.
82 Robert Hardgrave, Op.cit., p.47.
83 Geofrey Oddie, "India" Missionaries, Conversion and change, pp.249-250.
84 Bishop Caldwell, Protestant Missions in India, p.370.

The Times on Bishop Caldwell echoed his views on Shanars. The Shanars, who claim to have been the original lords of the soil had been ousted from the crop lands, and lived by the cultivation of the palmyrah palm. Hinduism had not yet established itself firmly at that remote point of the Penisula, and the prevailing religion was the of demons, or the malignant forces of nature, which we conveniently sum up as devil worship[85].

The following views confirm the findings of Caldwell about Nadars. The Nadars are an interesting people, known for their work among the palmyrah trees in the region. Stephen Neill was very familiar with this people and explains them with familiarity. The great majority of Christians belonged to the Nadar community. This remarkable people occupy a peculiar position in the Hindu world. They are not admitted to worship in the Hindu temples and therefore cannot be regarded as caste Hindus. On the other hand, they are not untouchables, and do not belong to that fifth of the population which is excluded from all social privileges. The extremely hardwork by which they earn their living gives to many of them a magnificent physique and a hardly aggressive temperament, which when influenced by the grace of Christ leads to great strength of Christian character. These folk had for the most part become Christians in groups. When the missionaries first encountered them, the Nadars were almost wholly illiterate; they took eagerly to education, and have produced a number of distinguished leaders.[86]

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[85] The Times on Bishop Caldwell, October 19, 1891.
[86] Stephen Neill's Autobiography, "Gods Apprentice", London, 1991, pp. 82-83.

e) *causes hidden behind the publication of "Tinnevelly Shanars"*

His intention of lifting them up:

Caldwell pleaded on behalf of the *Shanars.* To cull out sources he mainly relied upon direct interview with the people he happened to interact during his journey on account of religious mission. He himself stated the reason for such attempt of revealing the social condition of *Shanars* namely,

1) To enable the persons residing in England to have a very distinct idea of the nature of missionary work in Tinnevelly district and the nature of difficulties connected with it.

2) To enable them to form a more distinct idea of the peculiarities of this sphere of missionary labour and tend to excite them to a more practical interest in it.[87]

3) Caldwell wrote it with an intention to uplift the Nadar community through the magnanimous contributions of the broad minded English people.[88] Out of compassion he had written it.

4) His object was to awaken sympathy for them and to obtain funds from his friends in England to educate and elevate them. He said that his object was accomplished to a large extent.[89]

5) In all probability, there can be no doubt that Caldwell, the Christian missionary had written this in order to win more sympathy for the *Shanars,* in their down trodden condition, but certainly, his intention could not have been to demigrate and redicule this community.

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[87] Rev. R. Caldwell, Tinnevelly Shanars, Op.cit., p. 1.
[88] D.A. Christadoss, Caldwell Athyatehar, Op.cit., p. 82 and R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 85.
[89] Ibid.

Protest against the book

The great opposition made Caldwell to withdraw his book about *Shanars.* He himself describes the situation. At the time or after a long time when he wrote the book, the *Shanars* were not able to read English. So they were not able to understand the book. When they began to oppose the pamphlet (after 20 years) they had risen in social importance, entirely because of the efforts of European missionaries. The ungrateful Shanars, unmindful of the advantages they got from the missionaries cast away the ladder by which they had risen. They tried to establish their origin as a high born race, sons of kings, ranking next to the Brahmins. They regarded him as a of their caste. In 1881, some young men of this caste induced ignorant people and signed petitions against Caldwell's return to India from England.

Out of compassion he had written it. He said that his object was accomplished to a large extent. His book has captured the hearts of many English people almost immediately and yielded very satisfied results. The community people mistook that Caldwell had a hidden motive in writing this book. Mistaking his pure and unblemished intentions they launched an agitation against it. Even though he sacrificed his own energy, time and intellect for the benefit of those who were deprived of everything. In all probability, there can be no doubt that Caldwell, the Christian missionary, had written those booklets, in order to win more sympathy for the *Shanars*, in their downtrodden condition, but certainly, his intention could not have been to demigrate and ridicule this caste.

But whatever the sympathy the missionary had for the *Shanars,* he was not a born *Shanar* to understand and react to the true sentiments of a 'born Nadar'. On the other hand, Sattampillai, (Arumanayagam) (D.O.B. October 24, 1823), was a born

Nadar who could understand much more about the history, sentiments, traditions and feelings of the Nadars. He also knew the causes of their downfall, which the missionary did not.[90] Arumanayagam happened to read the booklet published by Caldwell it must have been a rude shock to the scholar. Infact, all the adverse impressions and comments about the Nadars have been originated by the missionaries and except for them, the Nadar Movement would have taken a complete turn of war and bloodshed in the style of Kshatriya Character. However, the moral enlightenment, an economic progress made later by Nadars must be accredited to the Christian missionaries[91]. Though Caldwell was in a situation to give justification for his writing, he did not try to do so because caste feeling like pride of race, cannot be argued with. He wanted to avoid making matters worse. His reiterated attempt to convince them failed and was mostly foiled by fanatic sentiments. Unreasonably he withdrew it from circulation as far as he could.[92]

After a pretty long time he himself remarked the improved condition of Shanars. He says that they are constantly endeavoring to improve themselves and make progress both intellectually and in social position. Whatever their original position may have been, they now occupy a very high place amongst the most progressive native tribes and castes in Southern India.[93] Then South Travancore upto Quilon, mainly in the coastal and interior belts, vary sparingly in other parts. This may mean either they were originals to Southern Tamil Nadu or emigrants from East Asia.[94]

The writers of *Shanar* community did not agree with him in all aspects. Even the validity of Caldwell's view of the origin of *Shanars* is being tested by many others.

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[90] M. Immanual, Op. cit., p.100.
[91] Ibid., p. 102.
[92] J. L. Wyatt, Op. cit., p.85.
[93] Ibid., pp. 85-86.
[94] K. Sadasivan, his forthcoming paper on the original home of the Nadars.

Moses Ponniah in his book *Nadar Varalaru* (T1) contradicts Caldwell's view. He says that the origin of *Shanar* is "Shan" race of China. They left China and entered Siam. From there they spread to south and west and spread paddy culture.[95] Maramar who ruled Bengal were Pandyas. Maramar are Tamils. The language of Sanrace was Tamil.[96] San race came to India from Siam across the Bay of Bengal (when it was land) and settled in Tamilaham and Lemuria South of Tamilaham. Through Tamilnadu they extended upto West Asia. They carried with them paddy and palmyrah. They established their rule in Nanjil Nadu and Panai Nadu. Then Maramars reign started in Pandy Nadu. San race were the children of Palaiyol the mother Goddess.[97] Palaiyol was known as Bhathrakali. People offer palmyrah produces to Bhatrakali in Thatchineswaram of Calcutta. So it is doubtless that the Dhatchineswari is the Mother Goddess of san race.[98] Many hundred years after the advent of *Malava Sanror, Ilasanror* entered the western coast of Malayalam through the eastern islands. They brought coconut to the southern country.[99] San race reigned Tamil Nadu since ancient time / days and led/indulged in good trade.[100] Moses Ponniah states states that North Indian Brahmins came to South India when the heads of *Palaiyar* (the ancients) reigned and accepted kinship as Chera, Chola and Pandya.[101] Palaiyar belonged to the Iron Age and the urn of ancient graveyard of Palaiyar. This idea does not find place in the book of Caldwell. Further he says that Dravidian society belonged to matriarchal (system) family.[102] *Shanan* of those days was called *Senan* during the period of *Paranar.* They

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[95] Moses Ponniah, Nadar Varalaru, Sion Publication, Madurai, p.11.
[96] V. Kankasabai Pillai, The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, (1856 – 1906) p.46.
[97] Moses Ponniah, Op.cit., p.14.
[98] Ibid., p.14.
[99] Ibid., p.15.
[100] Ibid., p.18.
[101] Ibid., p.31.
[102] Ibid., p.32.

were the people who denoted *San* race.[103] San race inhabited and cherished their civilization from Sundara island, in the Pacific Ocean to Crete in the Mediteranean Sea.[104] According to U.V. Saminathier's *Santror* is the name of a clan (குலப் பெயர்). V. Nagamaiah in his work Thiruvithancore State Manuel states his view of *Santror* as rulers of Tirunelveli and Thiruvithancore region.[105] During the Sangam age *Santror* had army of their own, served and protected the king as shield by their army, might, valour and diplomacy.[106] Gramani and Nadar of today are *Santror* denoted as *Santror Meimarai* by Pathitruppattu.[107] According to Caldwell Pandaiyanadu / Pandi Nadar must be the pearl fishery of Korkai in the Eastern coast of Tirunelveli District.[108]

Meanwhile William Taylor proposes another theory. He says, *Nadar / Nadandavan* now indulged in agriculture and trade[109]. The one who ruled over / had hegemony over, Nadu were called *Nadar.* In southern Districts it is the title of *Santror.* This view is found in the *Census of India* 1809.[110]

In Kerala, Ilavar assumed the title *Shanar.* The eminent among the Ilavar assumed the title *Santror*. In Chola Kingdom also Ilavars lived in plenty. During the days of the Pallavas they engaged in planting coconut and toddy tapping.[111] Toddy tapping was their occupation since they lived in South China. They thought that this profession was given to them as sons of Bharatrakali and did with a religions cult. It gave no room for lying, stealing, deception and bribery and cherished fearlesness,

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103 Ibid., p.39.
104 Ibid., p.48.
105 Ibid., p.59.
106 Ibid., p.60.
107 Ibid., p.64.
108 R. Caldwell, History of Tinnevelly (1881), p.10 & 19.
109 William Taylor, Oriental Manuscripts, Vol. II, p.27.
110 Census of India, 1809, Vol. XIII, p. 97.
111 Ibid., p.83-84.

honesty, firmness in mind, perseverance, etc.[112] People of *San* race were hard workers, agriculturists, amassed the wealth of palmyrah palm or gathered goods and brought them to consumers as *Saththar.* They were innocent and did their work as worship.[113] Moses Ponniah however accepts the view of Caldwell about the appearance of Nadars in the 19th century.[114] In Tirunelveli district there were conversions among *Mara Nadars* to Christianity since 1796-1803. In the *teri* region Thaveethu Upadesian (Preacher) was responsible for conversion. Until then his uncle indulged in *Sakthi poojai*[115] *Shanars* unlike their counterparts such as Brahmans and Vellalas indulged not in Brahmanical worship[116]. *Shanars* worshipped their ancestors as Gods (Samy). Words of *Avvaiar Annaiyum Pithavum Munneri* Theivam (mother and father the earliest God), reveals the fact of ancestor worship.

Jegadeesan gave the Nadar the lowest position in the ladder of society. It was because of lack of historical knowledge about Mara Nadars. Pate describes that they were a funny people. Joseph Muller a missionary, says that *Shanars* were not Hindus, they were free from *Bramaniyam* (influence).[117] Tolerance, thinking tendency, planning before beginning of any profession, preplanning, liberality / generosity are their inborn qualities. Flattery, hypocricy, selling themselves as serfs are unknown to them. They consider their work as worship[118]. Malayala Nadars had not the habit of *Sastha* (Sattan = Jain) worship. When *Mukkantha* Mara Nadar fell in evil days of poverty and

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[112] Ibid., p.84.
[113] Ibid., p.114.
[114] Ibid., p.134.
[115] Ibid., pp.153-154.
[116] Ibid., p. 154.
[117] Ibid., p.160.
[118] Ibid., p. 179.

sufferings, they were not aware of their ancestral history as rulers and traders. They resumed palmyrah climbing as it was the occupation of *San* race.[119]

Robert L. Hardgrave, JR. is perhaps the first American to be influenced by the writings of Caldwell. The impact of Caldwell on him is apparently visible in his work, The *Nadars of Tamil Nadu* (1969). In many a place he quoted the views of Caldwell such as the region *teri,* where Nadars settled, origin of Nadars their profession, social condition, status in the society (rank), their moral condition, the transmission taking place in the social order and status, etc.

Dennis Templeman, the author of *The Northern Nadars of Tamil Nadu* talks about two types of changes. Caste mobility and social evolution. He says that Nadars of South India had moved upward in the hierarchy over the past century and a half. From the status just above untouchability to a solid, forward caste position from lowly toddy-tappers to respectable business persons. In the process they have become relatively wealthy, educated in the western style, politically prominent and quite urbanised.[120] It should be noted here that there is a vast difference between the views of Caldwell in his book Tinnevelly Nadars and Dennis Templeman. The difference is because of the lapse of one century, the progress the community has made to erase the stigma attached to them and western liberal education. As in the words of Templeman drastic changes have taken place in the life style of *Shanars.* Undoubtedly, it is because of the efforts of Caldwell and other missionaries of south (Tinnevelly). They worked tirelessly for the upliftment of *Shanars* both spiritually and materially. Templeman confirms the view that Caldwell wrote *Tinnevelly Shanars* with an intention to stimulate support for missionary activities by emphasizing certain 'deplorable' aspects of the Nadars. He

[119] Ibid., p.192.
[120] Dennis Templeman, The Northern Nadars of Tamil Nadu, 1996, p.1.

accepted that Caldwell's study presents much useful information on Nadar religious and other practices at that time.[121] He accepts the views of Caldwell and Hardgrave. He is influenced by the fact that the *Shanar* economy centred on the palmyrah palm, then the only commercially viable agricultural crop in the teris. Templeman sees the cause for the low status of *Shanars in* the society. *Shanars* association with alcohol was one of the primary reasons for the traditionally low social status of the *Shanars*. He attaches much more importance to palmyrah by stating that plmyrah yielded products such as mats and baskets woven from its fronds and palmyrah trunks were used as poles and roof-beams for houses.[122] Templeman agrees with Caldwell about the intense physical exertion involved in the *Shanar's* labours. During the hottest part of the year, from March to September, menfolk is employed in climbing the palmyrah in the greater part of every day, in the full blaze of a vertical Sun. The women folk engaged in boiling down the sweet juice into a coarse sugar and other works related to palmyrah products unquestionably it is a more exhausting species of labour than any other performed within the tropics.[123] He also echoes the views of Caldwell that some *Shanars* are wealthy land Lords. Some of these land lords were petty chiefs. They collected revenue in the isolated settlements in which they lived. They were called *Nadars,* i.e. Lords of the land. A separate group of *Shanars* acted as servants for the wealthy land lords and *Nadans,* some of them served as palanquin bearers for the *Nadars.*[124]

The *Shanars* were regarded as 'unclean' or 'ritually polluting' by other jatis. Though they were ranked at the lowest but not as low as Pallan or Paraiyans. He agreed with Caldwell who states, that the lowest castes only used alcoholic beverages. The

[121] I bid., p.19.
[122] I bid., p.20.
[123] I bid., p.20.
[124] I bid., p.22.

Shaars avoided its use in the fermented states. This is also responsible for not classifying *Shanars* as untouchables[125].

Templeman proposes his own views on Caldwell's writing of *Shanars* association with alcohol. At the time Caldwell wrote his study on the *Shanars,* he was a young missionary seeking to generate support for his activities. The account he gives of their condition, was overwhelmingly negative, a picture of the degradation which he believed resulted from their non-christian state, portrayed not merely as heathenism, but as devil worship. Caldwell was therefore unlikely to overlook an opportunity to report that alcohol was among the evils from which the *Shanars* needed to be saved. Also, since he had lived among them for some time, there is good reason to believe that his observations on this point were accurate.[126] It is also possible that the *Shanars* might once have consumed the toddy they produced but had given up the practice by the time Caldwell arrived perhaps under the influence of Christian missionaries. This likelihood has lent some weight by the fact that in 1814 the Government of Travancore granted *Shanar* women the right to cover their breasts, a high caste *prerogative.*[127] Christian influence then had clearly left its mark on some aspects of *Shanar* life by Caldwell time, the abstinence from alcohol might have been among these changes. However, it is worth mentioning that Templeman accepts the views that he knew of sources written prior to Caldwell's pamphlet, that reports that the *Shanars* drink.[128]

Drinking toddy or alcoholism, until the arrival of the Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanic religions in the South, was not considered polluting. The Brahmins have also consumed drinks like *devapana* (divine drink). The Pandya, Chera and Chola kings

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[125] Ibid.,
[126] Ibid., p.23.
[127] Ibid., p.23.
[128] Ibid., p.29.

of yore are depicted in the *Sangam works* as lovers of drinks of various kinds: They are said to have given them to the poets, courtiers and ministrels. They are said to have encouraged preparation of toddy, biting toddy (theral) and other drinks. Down the centuries, drinks are reported to have found place in rituals and royal sacrifices. The Pallavas are recorded to have levied a tax on the toddy tappers called the *ilamputchi.*[129] By the time of the missionary activities in Tamil Nadu, poligars and zamindars were very much wedded to drinks. However, drinking alcohol in the spiritual sense and missionary zeal is a sin. The polluting stigma attached to the *Shanars* is not only due to drinking alcohol, but due to their non-conversion to the Brahmanical rituals and forms of worship. Secondly, they were not wealthy land owners; but dethroned from their position by the invading Nayaks.

As far as the *Shanar* religion is concerned Templeman accepts the views of Caldwell. Roughly speaking 10% Nadars as Christians. Some are Catholics, particularly in the coastal villages of Tirunelveli. The bulk of Nadar Christians are Protestants. The first permanent *Shanar* settlement, Mudalur (first village) was established in 1799.[130] It was not uncommon for the entire *Shanar* settlements to convert to Christianity. Caldwell attributed this to a tendency to think in herds, a judgement, no doubt prompted by his failure to win many individual converts. Hindu Nadars claim that such mass conversions happened because the converts sought favours from the British.[131] It is not always true that the missionaries lured *Shanars* to convert to Christianity by extending official and personal favours. As a missionary religion like Buddhism, Christianity was also interested in the spread of its ethics and teachings to

[129] K. Sadasivan, "The Antiquity of the Palmyrah Palm: A study from Early Tamil Works and Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions," paper presented in the *31st Annual* conference of South Indian History Congress, 26-30th January 2011 at Cuddapah, Andhra Pradesh.
[130] Ibid., p.29.
[131] P. Subramanian, *Social History of the Tamils*, New Delhi, 1999, p.38.

the affected and the afflicted. Extreme condemnation belittles their service to the cause of lifting up community, that was suppressed for many centuries by the dominant and the elitists.

Tillers like Vellalars, weavers like Kaikolars and toddy – tappers like *Shanars* due to change of circumstances and favours conferred on them by the British became big merchants and *dubashis* whose business investment exceeded several lakhs in the 19^{th} and 20^{th} centuries. This indeed was a great social revolution[132]. Dissatisfied with the traditional set-up, *Shanars* revolted against it in order to get emancipation. In Tinnevelly and Kanyakumari Districts, their women were denied the right of wearing upper garments to cover their bosom. Practically, by doing so, they were treated as untouchables and were forced to pay a number of taxes such as poll tax, house tax, marriage tax, property tax and many other taxes which were too oppressive and discriminating. Their very presence was deemed to be defiling and they were prevented from using public wells, roads, tanks and temples. After conversion to Christianity, they were encouraged by the missionaries, foreign and Indian to cover their bosom with upper garments like *Kuppayam* (a kind of skirt) which to the higher caste was a breach of age old tradition[133]. This right the shanars got not as a benevolent act, but as a right to protect the feminine motherliness. Mutthukutti Swamigal waged a relentless war against this barbarous traditions of the Travancore upper castes. Missionaries like Mault, Mead and British officials like Col. Monro, Commanders like Cullen did play a major role in getting this right after waging a protest by women and shooting at the bosom of a woman, who boldly violated the prevalent practice.

[132] Ibid., p. 41.
[133] M. Immanuvel, Op.cit., p. 100.

P. Subramanian's views of *Shanars* co-insides with that of Caldwell. Toddy-tappers like cānārs i.e. *Shanars* were oppressed by the higher caste people after the Pandyas have accepted the caste hierarchy. Dissatisfied with the oppressive traditional set up, cānārs revolted against it in order to get emancipated.[134]

Shanars: *Categories or Divisions among them:-*

H.R. Pate makes some study about the divisions among the *Shanars* (Nadars). They are the *Melnadars* (the Malayala Nadars) with whom the Tamil Nadars would not have marriage relations: no giving and taking. Then the *Kodikal Nadars* of Ambasmuthiram region whose major occupation is agriculture i.e. tending betel leaves. *Nattathi Nadars* of the Srivaikundam region, having some social status due to land owning; *Karukkupatti* Nadars i.e., the palmyrah climbers of the Trichendur region. Palmyrah land owing and climbing; and lastly the *Pulukka Shanars* of the Aruppukottai region, having the servants of the other groups. At present these groups have lost their separate identity owning to education, employment, business (big and small), agriculture in small areas, political positions, marriages between these groups and Malayala Tamil groups and intercaste marriages, temple entry and temple management. The only difference still persist among them is that division of Hindu Nadars and Christian Nadars, where the Hindu Nadars claiming a high social status.

The Tamil Nadars have their counterparts in other parts of India. The Gramani and the Moopanars are said to belong to the Nadar community. Again in Kongu Nadu and in Karnataka they have their counterparts.

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[134] P. Subramanian, op. cit., p.38.
D. Vijaya Duraisamy Gramony too states that Nadars are a hard working, industrious people and pauperism is almost unknown among them D. Duraisamy Gramony, Nadar Enum Chol Aaraichi, Chennai, 1927, p.194.

Edgar Thurston lists out four major divisions namely *Karukku-pattayar* or *Karrukku – mattayar* (where the term *Karukku* means 'sharp edge' and pattai or mattai means 'the leaf stalk of the palmyrah', Mel-nattar ('western or Travancore or Kerala Nadars'), *Nattatti* ("Nadars of nadu nadu"), *Kodikkal* ('cultivators of the betel yards') and *Kalla* (perhaps 'the lowest') (The meanings given in the brackets are of my guides interpretation). H.R. Pate makes a slight modification in the last one and calls that division as *Pulukka – Shanar* (meaning 'the lowest section of the group') Meanwhile, the Salem Gazetteer makes two divisions among the Nadars. They include *Velau Chanar,* Katpura *Chanar,* Kalla Chanar, *Eeku Chanar,* Tennamatte[135] *Chanar, Paunamatte chanar Pallavaraya Chanar*[136]. Of this the Pannamatte Chanars are the palmyrah climbers. *The Census of 1891 of the Government of India* records 324 sub-divisions, while the *Travancore census* of 1891 lists 11 subdivisions.

Joseph Mullen a missionary says that Nadars are not Hindus[137] Rev. William T. Ringeltaube says that their religion is not Brahmanical.[138] Their wants are very few, and their desires do not extend beyond the support of their bodies. Of course, their ideas and conversations reach no further than the employment in which they are engaged, says another missionary.[139] They contented with the trade and position of life with which their forefathers were content; to be always indebt and to live from hand to mouth.[140] Shasta also, the Hariharaputra of the Brahmans, and rather a demon king than a divinity, being guardian of boundaries and protector of paddy-fields, is worshipped to

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[135] My co-guide thinks that the Tennamarattu – chanar may refer to coconut – climbers, the Ezhavars the counterparts of Nadar in Travancore.
[136] The *Pallavaraya – Chanar* may have been those *Chanars* who have gone to Ceylon from the Pallava country in the early medieval times. R. Sooryamoorthy, Climbing up the story of Palmyrah Workers Development Society, Martandam, 2000, p. 22, footnote 41.
[137] Moses Ponnaiah, Op. cit., p.160.
[138] Robert L. Hardgrave, Op. cit., p.38.
[139] Ibid., p.39.
[140] R. Caldwell, Tinnevelly Shanars, pp.56-57.

a considerable extent in his official relations[141] Worship of shasta is confirmed by Moses Ponnaiah.[142]

Conclusion:

1. Early Tamil Nadu had no caste hierarchy, and therefore no Sudra caste. If the four fold division is applicable to the Tamil society, then the position of the Sudras is offered to the Vellalars and other agriculturists.[143]

2. Biologically the *Shanars* or *Nadars* have certain distinct physical features. The search for the original home of the *Shanars (Nadars)* has landed genetic engineers to make studies about the blood group of them. A Biological journal brought out a startling revelation that the Nadar's blood belonged to the East Asian blood group. Perhaps they would have descended from the Java group and the Ezhava blood is more related to the Eurasian blood group.[144]

3. The *Shanars* or *Nadars* are found in innumerable number in the Southern districts of Ramnad, Madurai, Tirunelveli, the then South Travancore upto Quilon, mainly in the coastal and interior belts, very sparingly in other parts. This may mean either they were originals to Southern Tamil Nadu or emigrants from East Asia.[145]

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[141] R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p.12

[142] Moses Ponnaiah, Op.cit., p.192.

[143] K. Sadasivan, "Villavar Lineage of the Ceras: An Archaeo – Historical Study", in T.P. Sankarankutti Nair edition of *The Last Phase of Monarchy: A test script for Sri Uthiradam Thirumal Maharaja,* Thiruvananthapuram, 2011, pp.68-70.

[144] *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia*, Accessed on Dec. 14, 2010 at 7.30 P.M.

[145] K. Sadasivan, his forthcoming paper on the Original home of the Nadars.

On making an impartial study of the various divisions of the Chanars (Nadars) of Ceylon and the biological (genetic engineering), it becomes obvious that the *Shanars* or *Nadars* might have left their original homes in East Asia and came to Ceylon and from then the *Chanars* and *Ezhavars* might have migrated to the tip of the Indian soil at a far off days.

However Caldwell's maiden attempt gave a fillip to many more social historians, to further tread their way into community studies. Whatever may be the criticism, Caldwell had a reputation of being the fore runner exponent of social history in Tamil Nadu.

CHAPTER - III

CALDWELL AS A DRAVIDIAN LINGUIST

Language is a means of communication. There are two kinds of languages: i) spoken language ii) spoken and written language. Tamil is not only a spoken language, i.e. the language of the masses, but also a written language. Spoken language do not have dialects where as written languages do have dialects. The dialects are letters or script. The Tamil language has the script which was earlier said to have been derived from *Asokan Brahmi*. But recent researches establish the fact that the Tamil or *Brahmi* script followed in the Tamil country was earlier to *Asokan Brahmi*. Palaeographers and epigraphists like Iravatham Mahadevan[1] call the script as Tamil Brahmi, and date it to belong to B.C.300 and downwards. But K.V.Ramesh who would like to call the script as *Tamizhi*, assigns it to belong C. B.C.400 and above. In India there were languages which have dialects and scripts, but they have fallen out of use. There are still spoken language which do not have scripts, when the spoken language takes the written form it is called literature. He may speak here about the *Sangam Literature*, the date of which varied from C.B.C.300 to C.A.D.300 or from C.B.C.400 to C.A.D.300. When literature goes beyond limit, there arises the necessity of limit it and bring it within certain conditions that work the grammar does. Grammar is the fifth stage of the evolutionary process of language:

(i) sign and symbols

(ii) spoken language

(iii) the script

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[1] Iravatham Mahadevan, Early Tamil Inscriptions: from the Earliest to the Sixth Century A.D., Cre-A, Chennai, 2003, Introduction.

(iv) the literature, and

(v) the grammar[2]

This language therefore has a *hoary* antiquity, a literary tradition and linguistic form and a grammar which is independent from Indo-Aryan of Sanskrit[*] traditions.

This language, literature and grammar, which have historic past, had become secondary about sixth century A.D. Though the Kalabhras ruled Tamil Nadu from about third century A.D to about sixth century A.D., Tamil language, literature and grammar got great strides of progress. But from the sixth century A.D onwards to about ninth century A.D during the Pallava rule Tamil mostly became a secondary language. Sanskrit language and works got great impetus. The Pallavas evolved a new script called the *Pallava* Grantha to write the Sanskrit and Tamil works and official commands[3]. However in Tamil language and grammar received the famous Nannul of Pavanandhi and many other grammatical pieces like Veerasoliam, Yapperungalam and Yapparungalakkarikai, which have been written on Tamil grammar using Sanskrit grammatical dictions. It is thus Tamil grammar began to receive the Sanskrit tone and tenor.[4] This tradition continued to flourish in Tamil Nadu for centuries to come.

Indian grammatical tradition has two district streams one is the *Paninian* or *Ashtadhiyayi* tradition; the other being the *Aindhra* or Tamil tradition. *Agasthiam* which is said to have preceded *Tholkappiyam* might to have been the first Aindhra tradition of

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[2] K. Sadasivan, "Tholkappiyam, Tholkappier, and Research in *Pro. K.K. Kusuman, Commemoration volume*, Thiruvananthapuram, 2008.

[*] Sanskritam – Sanskrta, Sanskrtam, originally "refined speech", is a historical Indo-Aryan language and primary liturgical language of Hinduism and Jainism and Mahayana Buddhism. Today it is listed as one of 22 scheduled languages of India and an official language. The language referred to as Sanskrta "the cultured language" has by definition always been a "sacred" and "sophisticated" language used for religious and learned discourse in ancient India, and contrasted with the languages spoken by the people, prakrta-natural, artless, normal, ordinary.

[3] C. Meenakshi, Society and Administration Under the Pallavar, Chennai, 1933, p. 38.

[4] "Tamil Mani" "Dinamani", Madurai, April 24,2011.

Grammar. However *Agasthiam* is lost to posterity. *Tolkappiyam* is the extant grammar, which is a wholistic work on the polity of the Tamil people: the land, people, their forms of worship, their occupation and beliefs and ways of life (tinai, concept = Physiographic considerations).[5]

Though Tamil grammatical works including Tholkappiyam have received commentaries from various learned Tamil pandits and scholars, Tamil has not received that attention until the time of Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell, who, infact, recovered the linguistic tradition of Tamil Nadu in the nineteenth century having raised his residence at Idaiyangudi an interior village in Tirunelveli District.

It is a gainsaying that the Tamil language, literature and grammar received greater attention in the modern times from the tireless works of the Western Christian Missionaries and British administrators (civil servants) and educants. This trend started from the days of the Jesuit Missionaries and Danish Missionaries and other Western Protestant Missionaries. The Christian Missionaries in their bid to reach the masses adopted Tamil as the language of communication. This led them to the study of Tamil for the explanation of religious dogmas and for the writing of books. Guided by their experience with other languages, they introduced scientific forms of presentation like the use of semicolons; colons, comas, question marks and full stops. Together with these they popularized details and discussions, introduced Western themes, undertook translation and initiated linguistic research. Under the impact of these developments, Tamil that has been ignored for centuries as the language of the humbled people, entered the road to resilience. The results were far reaching for a new attempt was made to rediscover the glory of Tamil culture and Tamil language[6].

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5 K. Sadasivan, op.cit.

6 K. Rajayyan, TamilNadu: A Real History ed. 1st, 2005, pp. 333-334.

Caldwell on the basis of his extensive research and aided by local pandits published his work: the *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*[7]. Caldwell was a rare phenomenon of varied academic interests in scholastic and religious pursuits. His brilliant scholarly and original contributions span over a vast spectrum of research in religious studies and Dravidian linguistics (language and literary studies). When it was published in England, (London) it was a hot cake and went out of stock. The work soon ran into a second edition; it covers a wider field than its title; it conferred on its author the Degree of L.L.D. an honoris causa by the Glasgow University in 1866, which Durham followed up in 1873 with the Degree of D.D.[8] In his Reminiscences Caldwell himself gives an outline of his Comparative Grammar. It is a longest work, containing 608 pages, when Caldwell brought out the volume in 1856, he called his work as A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages.

In the Introduction part he explains the origin and meaning of the word Dravidian. He also gives an enumeration of cultivated and uncultivated languages with their principal characteristics, the Dravidian civilization. He also included the antiquity of Dravidian literature and the characteristics of the Dravidian poetry. The introduction is more likely to be interesting to the general reader. The latter part will be interesting and useful to the students of the Dravidian languages. This part is divided into seven sections, viz. Sounds, Roots, the Nouns, the Numerals, the Pronouns, the Verb and the Glossarial affinities[9].

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[7] Ibid., p.334.
[8] H.R. Pate, op.cit., p.397.
[9] J.L. Wyatt, op.cit., p.150.

Why did Caldwell chose to write on Dravidian languages:

The hidden fact behind the origin of this book, dated back to the college days of Caldwell. While he was studying in Glasgow, he developed a love for comparative philology. Even though it was due to natural bent of his own mind, it was nourished by his Professor of Greek Sir. Daniel Sandford. The resolution he had taken at that time sowed the seeds for this *comparative Grammar*. He decided to study strange languages if at all he happened to be among the strange language-speaking people. Not only to study but also to write about the language which may be useful to the world[10]. Caldwell's scholarly training at Glasgow and his dormant flair for comparative philology greatly helped him in his intellectual pursuits. He started learning their languages, history, geography, customs, philology and ethnology[11]. As it is mentioned earlier he was a multi linguist knowing eighteen languages such as English. Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Sanskrit, German, he acknowledged the fact that though Indians lacked a sense of history, they are fond of philosophy, poetry, law, mathematics, architecture, music, drama, etc[12]. This shows that Indians knew grammar and were able to write books in their respective languages. Caldwell expressed his anguish over the inadequacy, of knowledge in comparing their own language with other languages, inspite of the fact that they had great interest in grammatical studies[13].

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[10] Ibid., p.7.

[11] R. Caldwell, "Fifty years", p.173.

[12] Bishop, R. Caldwell, 1989, p.1.

[13] In his convocation address to the Madras University on April 4,1879 Caldwell pointed out "The people of India have surpassed all other peoples, ancient or modern, in the earnestness and assiduity with which they have studied the grammars of their various tongues, and to this must be attributed the wonderful perfection several of those languages have reached as organs of thought and much of the acuteness for which the Indian mind is farmed. But the study of the languages of their country by Indian scholars have never become scientific. It has fallen behind the scholarship of Europe in grasp and breadth, and consequently in fruitfulness in results. [R. Caldwell, An Address Delivered to the Graduates of the Madras University, p.4.

Caldwell wanted to do away with this weakness. He wanted to do a scientific study of Tamil language, for he was convinced of its antiquity and mass appeal. This was cherished by several accidental circumstances from the day he started his voyage from London to Chennai. One of his fellow passengers was Mr. C.P. Brown of the Madras Civil Service. He was a Telugu and Sanskrit scholar. Moreover, he wrote a paper on Sanskrit prosody. Caldwell learnt Sanskrit from him. He says that it formed a good foundation for his subsequent study and has been of great advantage to him all through his life. By this he was able to overcome most of the difficulties connected with Tamil pronunciation and he imbibed from his teacher some of the enthusiasm for Indian learning with which he was filled.[14]

His acquaintance with Tamil scholars at Chennai:

For more than one year he stayed at the house of Mr. Drew. Mr. Drew edited the Kural, a great Tamil classic. Even though he did not live to complete the work, it placed him in the first rank of Tamil scholars. Caldwell says that he derived much benefit from the stimulus to Tamil studies that he received from his daily intercourse with Mr. Drew[15] who was well verse in Tamil Caldwell says that his only work in Madras for the first year, and his chief work afterwards, so long as he remained there, was the acquisition of Tamil. His aim was to acquire a good knowledge of the High Tamil, or classical tongue, and of the Tamil classics, as well as to the spoken language and the knowledge he then acquired, though not so extensive, or thorough as he could have wished, has been of the greatest possible use to him ever since. In particular he spared no pains in endeavoring to acquire an accurate pronunciation[16]. John Anderson

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[14] J.L.Wyatt, op. cit., pp.11-12.
[15] Ibid., p.52.
[16] Idid., p.57.

was his greatest friend in Madras. He was a good educator[17]. He met G.U.Pope a good classic Tamil scholar[18]. When Caldwell arrived at Madras he obtained much valuable help from Dr. Henry Bower in his endeavour to acquire a thorough knowledge of Tamil both in its classical dialect and in the Tamil of common life[19]. During his walk from Madras to Tinnevelly, he was able to be acquainted with the people and their dialects, ideas, manners, and talk in a way in which he could never expect to do if he travelled in a palanquin or even in a cart. While he was on his way to Tinnevelly, he stayed a few days in Tranquebar and witnessed the religious and Tamil contribution of the Danish mission. In Tanjaore he met Vedanayagam sastriyar and appreciated the Tamil Hymns composed by him.[20]

After his arrival in Tinnevelly, he was fortunate enough to have a good companion with Rev.Edward Sargent. While Caldwell was in Idaiyangudi Rev. Edward Sargent was in the adjacent Suvishesapuram. Caldwell often visited Rev.Sargent, who had a perfect knowledge of Tamil, which he spoke as fluently as a native, and was also thoroughly familiar with native ideas, so that it was a great advantage to him on first entering on work in Tinnevelly to be able to talk over matters with him from time to time.[21] He came to know a lot from him. He himself says that it was very useful to him in the initial stage of his service. Caldwell's wife was also a boon to him. It was from her he learnt most of his colloquial and domestic Tamil.

[17] Ibid., p.53.
[18] Ibid., p.58.
[19] Ibid., p.61.
[20] R.P.Sethu Pillai, op. cit., p.19.
[21] J.L.Wyatt, op. cit., p.104.

These circumstances paved way for the origin of the Comparative Grammar. The college of Fort. St. George♦ in Madras was established in 1812. It gave prime importance to teach south Indian languages, law and customs to the junior civil servants posted to the Madras Presidency. It gave an impetus to European scholarly interest in south Indian languages, the college funded the compilation and publication of grammars and dictionaries. The eminent European scholars such as A.D. Campbell, Francis Whyte Ellis♦ and C.P.Brown were associated with it. In their grammar and dictionary in Telugu, they expounded a new theory that Telugu did not originate from Sanskrit and it is distinct from the Indo-Aryan family of language. C.P.Brown also in his Telugu Grammar expressed the same idiology. Even in the 18th century Constantious Beschi and German Protestant Missionaries in Tranquebar also had stressed the distinctive non-Aryan and non-Brahman traits of the Tamil language and culture.

Beschi and Ziegenbalg took great pains to prepare the study of Tamil in the light of their languages. This naturally helped their successors to learn the language quicker and hence they were able to contribute the time thus saved to further researches on the language. Caldwell surely must have benefited by this and so also Pope. They had their own missionaries who were interested in the local language and like Beschi,

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♦ Fort St. George College :In 1812 Madras Government established colleges of the Fort St. George for the study and development of native languages. Dr. K.Meenakshi Sundaram says that Fort St. George was chiefly the result of Elli's untiring efforts. From all over the then Madras Province he collected manuscripts for the use of this college. The primary intention of this college was to impart instructions to the Government officials in native languages, ascertaining points of similarity in Grammar. (K. Meenakshi Sundaram, Op.cit., pp. 38-39).

♦ Francis Whyte Ellis arrived India in 1796. He was an administrator (Madras Civil Service). He died under tragic circumstances in March 1819. He devoted himself to the study of the languages, history and antiquities of the land in which his lot was cast. After his tragic death all his valuable papers, their value unrecognised, were either lost or destroyed. Mr. Elli's made a deep study of Sanskrit and mastered the four main Dravidian languages. A deep and penetrative study of the Dravidian languages, convinced Elli's beyond all doubt that these languages were a separate entity and did not belong to the Sanskrit group; nor did they need its assistance for survival despite often being intermixed and beautified by Sanskrit words. It is believed that Elli's wrote a treatise on Tamil Prosody but unfortunately it has not been preserved, and is not available. (Ibid.,)

and Ziegenbalg and others, did similar work in the respective languages, where their missions were situated Ex. The works of Brown on Telugu, Gundert on Malayalam and Kitel on Kannada. Their works were published to the benefit of all. It is natural to conclude that Caldwell, who had access to all these works, based his immense study on their work also. The precious time thus saved enabled him to concentrate on the comparative study of these languages[22]. The arid land (desert) of Idaiyangudi changed as a Tamil growing oasis in the hearts of Tamil scholars, because of Caldwell's services to Tamil. It is not an exaggeration that every Tamilian at least once in his life time must go on a pilgrimage to Idaiyangudi, the Tamil Tirupathy.[23]

Many scholars including him thought that he was the exponent of those ideologies. In course of time, during his search for sources/proof to order his thoughts, he found out that this ideologies have already been there among linguists even before his birth. Even earlier European scholars particularly the Germans have searching enquiries about these linguistic affiliations and disaffiliations studies in this direction have already begun in the college fort St. George, Madras, and in the Madras Literary Society. Many European and native scholars regularly conducted and attended meetings in the literary society. One among them was Francis Whyte Ellis the young and brilliant collector of Madras. Whenever he got leisure time, he used to immerse himself in the ocean of Tamil language and literature. He hade already made the beginnings in this linguistic direction and coined phrases such as *Dravidian* and *Dravidian* or *South Indian Family of Languages*, which, it seems, Caldwell borrowed and used in his studies. However, the credit of synthesizing them and revealing them goes to Caldwell only.

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[22] K. Meenakshisundaram, Op.cit., pp. 82-83.
[23] Tamil Pozhil, Thanjai Karanthai Tamil Sangam Publications, August 1958, p.106.

The thoughts revealed by Caldwell were,

i) South Indian languages are inter-related.

ii) They are not originated from Sanskrit.

iii) They are not related with Aryan languages.

iv) Many words from South Indian languages are absorbed in the North Indian languages.[24] Ellis the collector of Chennai had already done a comparative work of South Indian Languages. He found that Tamil and the South Indian languages are different from Aryan-languages. Rasums Kristian Rask was another exponent. He says that Dravidia languages could not be connected with Indo-European languages. They could only be connected with the Scythians even among that with the Finnish or Ugrian.[25]

Rev. Dr. Stevenson of Bombay an earlier linguist, in some of his essays in the *Bombay Asiatic Society's* publication brought out some truths. He is of the opinion that among North Indian languages some words could be seen which are not connected with Aryan languages, but connected only with South Indian languages.[26]

After viewing all these Caldwell changed his view, and said that he was not the first exponent of his views about Dravidian languages. Despite he arranged it in an order and made it known beyond doubts. Apart from that his work is the only work on Dravidian languages till date in English. Caldwell a rare phenomenon, probed many Dravidian languages and came out with insightful findings. His startling discoveries

[24] Ibid., pp.110-111.
[25] Ibid., p.111.
[26] Ibid.,

helped to invalidate the until then prevalent view that Tamil has borrowed much from Indo-Aryan languages. They provide the material for further linguistic reflection to the prospective scholars and researchers. They open new avenues of study, providing ample scope for promising scholars to make further enquiry into the hither to unknown treasures of various languages. Caldwell's pioneering work has laid the solid foundation for Dravidian studies as an autonomous discipline.

Caldwell's Comparative Grammar has been many editions with more additions even during his life time. He added more to the texture and structure of the later editions. For instance, his etymological addition to the two geographic terms Coromandel and Malabar may be considered (1903, edition).

There are many languages in our country and each language has its own script. In South India alone, we have four major languages, viz., Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam with their respective scripts. In addition, to these, there is also another language called Tulu, with no script of its own, but it uses the Kannada script. Though apparently each script appears to be different from the other; all these have close affinities.[27]

In the beginning of the 19th century Hodgson who lived in Nepal consolidated, systematically arranged and published many words used in South Indian languages. He was the first linguist to name the non-Aryan words and the languages in which they are used as 'Dravidian'. It was he who coined the word Dravidian.[28]

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[27] T.N. Subrahmaniyan, South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Vol.III, Part II, Madras, 1957, pp. 1499-1501.
[28] Tamil Nadu Parent – Teacher Association Seithi, November 2005, p.19.

The term Dravida refers to Tamil. It is the mutilated form of the term Tamilian. Dravidians are the original inhabitants of India. It is generally believed that the Dravidians are South Indians, who speak Dravidian languages. But those[29] Dravidians who had forgotten their Dravidian languages and live in North India are also Dravidians. They form 90% of India's population today.

The term Dravida is utilized based on

1) language,
2) region, and
3) race

Dravidian linguistics is as old as Indo-European/Indo-German languages comprising Sanskrit, English, French, German and so on. It was the inference of Caldwell, the master of 18 languages. He proved the fact that the Dravidian linguistics consist of Brahui and other 12 languages. Cultivated languages having developed script are Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam, Tulu and Kutagu or Coorg. The six, languages that did not develop script are Tuda, Kota, Gond, Khond, Oravon (oraon) and Rajmahal. Further, he stressed that among the Dravidian languages, a well developed and classic language is Tamil. It should be noted that in the Dravidian languages most of the words are independent and they do not depend on Sanskrit. Sanskrit's influence or dominance is in a lesser degree.[30] Dravidian Family is a separate type.

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[29] D. Devakala, Proceedings of the First All India Conference of B.C.R.C, 2001.P.
[30] R.S. Arulanandam, Caldwell: His Religious, Social and Tamil Services (T.I.), Palayamkottai, 1st ed, 2004, pp.26-27.

After the publication of Hodgson's essays in English papers, the European scholars found that languages which are not Aryan are being spoken in India. Petty, a justice of Bombay revealed the truth that North Indian languages are Aryan and South Indian languages are Tamil. This view attracted the European scholars[31] Gunder't of German, Kittel and Brown explored grammatical nuances and intricacies of Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu. Caldwell in order to explore Tamil, learnt German, so as to make use of the vast stores of Indian learning accumulated by German scholars.[32]

Some people had a wrong notion that Tamil cannot exist without the help of Sanskrit. Caldwell's researches helped to dismiss this wrong notion and declared that Tamil could exist / survive independently without the help of any other language. His *magnum opus* served as a base to change the status of Tamil which was humiliated for centuries by the dominance of Sanskrit.[33]

One among the classical languages of the world is Tamil. The other classical languages are: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Persian, Chinese, Arabic and Sanskrit. Credit goes to caldwell for having made the world realise the specialities of Tamil. He only unveiled the curtain of untruth and made known the truth that there exists a Dravidian family of languages which are less inferior to Sanskrit. He says that Tamil imparts more light than it receives.[34] Among philologists Caldwell has an eminent place. His *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, atonce arrested the attentions of orient scholars, and was recognised as the standard book on the languages of Southern India.

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[31] R.P. Sethu Pillai, Op,cit., p.55.
[32] Ibid., pp.56-57.
[33] Tamil Nadu Parent Teacher Association Seithi, p.20.
[34] R. Caldwell, comparative Grammar, op. cit., preface.

Method: To derive his conclusious, caldwell consolidated ancient Tamil words and compared them with Canaris and Telugu words. He found startling similarities in their roots and inferred that Tamil is entirely different from Sanskirt and could exist independlty. He proved this with ample examples. He investigated the normal words and grammatical classifications and revealed the similarities among them. So he is extolled as the 'father of Dravidian languages'.[35] Further he found that Tamil has become a classical language because of its independent nature. A poetry if it has to arrive the status of literature with rich literary taste, it depends upon the fact that how far it is free and away from the dominance of Sanskrit words. And not by the number of Sanskrit words it (used) made use of. But how far that poem hates the usage of Sanskrit words?. Hatred for the usage of Sanskrit words in their works, deep rooted in the hearts of Tamil scholars. He clarified that the colloquial Tamil of the rural people, greatly resembles classical Tamil because of the non usage of Sanskrit words[36]. Caldwell made use of the following method to prove his theory and derived his conclusions:

(i) tracing the historical antiquity of the languages – both the families – Indo – Aryan and Dravidian.

(ii) to locate the places where the Dravidian languages are still spoken or written, like Brahui.

(iii) to find out the historicity and antiquity of literature and literary traditions,

(iv) to identify the main tree from which how and when the braches branched of and of what consequences.

[35] TamilNadu Parent Teacher Association Cheithi, pp.20-21.
[36] Ibid., pp.21-22.

(v) to measure the amount of their indebtedness to the two mother languages (Tamil and Sanskrit),

(vi) to specify the give and take (borrowings) in both the basic language and their peculiar characteristics.

(vii) tracing their grammatical structures, limitations and other special features of assimilation absorption and acculturation and synthesis, and finally

(viii) the literature that rose there after for making this study, Caldwell not only referred to literary idioms, dictions, metre and phrases, but also epigraphic forms, language and the style of engraving. His comparative analysis of all these made him arrive at the conclusion that Tamil of the Dravidian family of languages has a distinct identity, historicity, antiquity, purity and independent standing.

Various Parts of His Work:-

His work consists of 608 pages. Part I is his preface to the work. Part II is of sounds and Root words of Dravidian languages. Part III is of Name Numbers etc. Part IV is on various Parts of Verbs; Part V is on Dravidian language which is as old as Indo-European/Indo-German languages[37].

Tamil or other Dravidian languages differ from Sanskrit words denoting close affinities. Parts of the body, common animals, fundamental activities are the prime words of a language. Caldwell listed some 60 primary words of Tamil and their

[37] R.S. Arulanandam, "Dravida Mozhihalin Oppilakkanam Thanthu Thamilarait Thalai Nimirnthu Nirkac Cheita Caldwell, 125th Anniversary Malar, (TL) Idaiyangudi, 2005, pp.15-22.

equivalents of Sanskrit and proved with examples that both the languages could not belong to a same family of languages.

Ex: Tamil – Thalai, Mayir

Sanskrit – Siras, Kesa

Tamil – Thee (Fire) Malai (Mountain), குதிரை (horse), பசு (Aa) பாம்பு (Snake) புளி (tamarind)

Sanskrit – Agni, Parvath, aswa, Ko, Sarpa, Amla and so on.

He investigated the writings of Pliny and Ptolemy and exposed that before the advent of Greek traders to South India, the Tamil script came into vogue. Cultivated grammar and literature have come into being earlier. So Tamil is a language cultivated before the birth of Jesus Christ. While scrutinizing the Dravidian words, he found out some truths:

(i) the Dravidians did cultivation/Agriculture was their profession.

(ii) they used weapons of war such as bow, arrow, spear and sword, etc.

(iii) they knew the use of metals except ஈயம், வெள்ளீயம், துத்தநாகம்.

(iv) they faired well in pottery-making, spinning, weaving and dyeing.

(v) matrimonial life was in vogue.

(vi) further, Dravidian civilization was prior to Aryan civilization. He proved these with ample evidences.

Caldwell's many and varied intellectual attainments stemmed from his profession both as a missionary and as a scholar. As a missionary, he viewed an intimate knowledge of the local language, customs and society as essential for evangelization, the various languages they (the local people) speak are all capable of being employed for the noblest purposes for which a language is required. They are

capable of conveying to God in return the soul's answer of grateful love.[38] He also felt strong by that carrying out Christianization in native languages would lead to converts having a Bible of their own, school books of their own, the elements atleast of literature of their own.[39]

Caldwell viewed India with its diversity of languages as a field with great potential for the study of comparison of her languages. He noted in his convocation address to the Madras University graduates on April 14, 1879. Madras province the chief home of Dravidian family presents an extensive and interesting field than anywhere with 14 languages and 30 dialects in addition to which Sanskrit, Hindustani and English claim attention.[40] He admired the German Missionaries who had worked on Tamil and other South Indian languages. He acknowledged that he had derived much help in almost every part of his work on grammar from the notes that Herman Gundert to the Bassel Mission made available to him.[41]

Christian Missionaries had been the first Europeans to show an interest in Tamil Culture and to study the Tamil language.[42] The works and writings of a small group of his mission contemporaries helped Caldwell to further his own interest. For Caldwell, G.U.Pope as a Tamil scholar was a 'Conspicuous exception' among English men, and they developed a mutual respect in regard to their scholarly work. Caldwell acknowledged Popes valuable help in the preface to the second edition of his Grammar. Similarly, Pope cited Caldwell as among those who contributed to the advancement of

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[38] R. Caldwell, "The Languages of India in Their Relation to Missionary Work" A Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the S.P.G. in Foreign Parts, April 28, 1875, London, pp. 13-14.

[39] Ibid., P.4.

[40] Address Delivered to the Graduates Admitted to the Convocation of the Senate of the University of Madras on Friday April 4, 1879, Madras, p.8.

[41] J.L.Wyaat, Op.cit., p.151.

[42] K. Meenakshisundaram, Op.cit., pp.75-80.

knowledge of Tamil Culture.[43] Caldwell also admired John Thomas as an eminent Missionary and a good Tamil Scholar and particularly as a good speaker of the language, and Caldwell often consulted him on matters of mission work.[44]

Caldwell was aware of the fact that the earlier European Missionaries and F.W.Ellis and his group in Madras had already testified to the idea of Dravidian languages and their Non-Sanskritic and Non-Aryan origin. In the introduction to his philological work Caldwell acknowledged that Francis Whyte Ellis had been the 'First person to demonstrate that South Indian languages belonged to an entirely different family from that of the Indo-Aryan'.[45]

Similarly Caldwell also acknowledged his indebtedness to C.Beschi and C.P.Brown[46] K. Meenakshisundaram says that Caldwell's scientific study of grammar opened up a new vista in the domain of grammar. He also says, 'Our learned men have really become alive to the scientific basis of our works on grammar'. Caldwell's Tamil linguistic study is indeed a wonderful contribution which has revolutionized our approach to Tamil Grammar.[47]

Caldwell's ground – breaking philological work on the history and structure of Dravidian languages is a uniquely significant and substantial exploration of the connections among the several South Indian languages. As Thomas Trautman remarks, Caldwell showed the full extent of the Dravidian family and demonstrated the relations among the languages in a richness of detail that has made it a classic work, still in print.

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[43] G.U. Pope, The Tiruvacagam or Sacred Utterance of Tamil, Poet, Saint and sage Manikka – Vasagar, Oxford, 1900, p.xii.
[44] J.L.Wyaat, op.cit., pp.101-102.
[45] Ravindran, Vaitheespara, op. cit., p.47.
[46] Peter L. Schmithenner, op.cit., pp.133-134.
[47] K. Meenakshisundaram, op.cit., p.167.

The real significance of what Caldwell accomplished was not the first conception of the Dravidian family, but the consolidation of the proof of Dravidian languages.[48]

Tamil scholars and Tamil people consider Caldwell as a legend. They remember him for his great works of scholarship, particularly for his grammatical piece of the Dravidian languages. The second edition was revised and enlarged in 1873. It still remains a standard authority. His work provided valuable insights into the Dravidian past and helped the revival of Tamil literature and culture after 1940s. The second World Tamil conference held in Chennai in 1968 acknowledged his contribution to Tamil and the then Tamil Nadu Government honoured him by erecting his statue on the Marina Beach, Chennai. The Central Government declared Tamil as a Classical Language on October 12, 2004. The Government of India paid a signal honour to Caldwell May 7th 2010 by issuing a stamp in his name. The background to his head on the 5 Rupee stamp consists of examples of four of the Dravidian languages of South India – Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu. On Seventeenth February 2011 the then D.M.K Government declared the bungalow of Caldwell at Idaiyangudi as a historical Monument and the Chief Minister Mr.M. Karunanidhi unveiled the portrait of Caldwell erected in front of the Bungalow. In the Chemozhi Manadu held in June 23-25th, 2010 due respect was given to Caldwell.

A language if it has to be called classical, it must posses eleven qualities. One among them is its peculiarity of being not influenced by other languages. This was established and foretold by Caldwell in 1856 itself. He observed that Tamil can act/function/exist without the support of Sanskrit or any other language.

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[48] Thomas,R. Trautman, 'Inventing the History of South India, in Daud Ali (ed.), *Invoking the Past: The uses of History in South Asia,* New Delhi, 2002, p.41.

Caldwell's work served as a model for many scholars to do research and publish their findings. Dr.Bleek wrote a Comparative Grammar of South African Languages in 1871 on Caldwell's model. Beems published a new Comparative Grammar of North Indian Languages in 1972. Though Caldwell's findings are original and novel then, there are areas of difference in his work. Recent researchers have rectified those weak grounds of Caldwell. With reference to the proportion of aboriginal words in the modern Indian vernaculars, his conclusions have been modified by subsequent research. Scarcely less interesting, although on a different scale, were his contributions during many years to the *Indian* Antiquary, and the series of Sanskrit manuscripts which he brought to light in Southern India and rendered available to Western Scholarship. But in this, as in every other branch of his untiring labours, he was inspired with the belief that he was doing true Missionary service. The literary work to which he himself looked back with greatest satisfaction was the part which he took during eleven years in the revision of the *Tamil Bible,* and the *Tamil Book* of Common Prayer.

Many Tamil, Sanskrit and German scholars undertook further investigations into that of Caldwell's by comparing two or three languages and by doing further researches into Tamil languages and literature. Critics of Caldwell held him that he stood for the cause of Dravidians and therefore a pro-Dravidian and was against the Aryan domination and defended the cause of Dravidians. Some of his views are as follows,

1. The Dravidians like the Aryans came from outside but earlier than the Aryans.

2. The Dravidian language is affiliated to Scythian language but not derived from Sanskrit.

3. Caldwell demolished the dominant notion prevalent in the South at that time was to trace the origin of Tamil to Sanskrit. Caldwell declared : "Tamil is not merely a high class language but also the most cultivated among the languages of the Dravidian group. It can dispense with its Sanskrit terms and can stand alone and flourish", Caldwell made a list of Tamil words found in Sanskrit. His work thus provides a significant scientific bulwark against the extremely lop-sided Aryan or Sanskrit portrayal of India at the time.

4. The Dravidians were the civilized people before the coming of the Aryans.

5. He traced the antiquity of the Tamil language and took it back to the days of king Soloman of the 10^{th} century B.C.[49]

Caldwell's influence on other scholars is discernible from the use of the term Dravidian. Though the word was already there in various forms, some times in its corrupt forms, Caldwell perhaps was the first linguist to give it world renown. Caldwell thus became the pioneer in founding the Dravidian linguistic school, Dravidian history and culture. Caldwell's influence on Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai is not a secret Prof. Sundaram Pillai, a contemporary of Caldwell inferred special meaning to the word Dravidian. This is evident from his *Tamil Thai Vazhtthu* ('Prayer of Mother Tamil') Prof. Sundaram Pillai called Southern India as *Dravida Nan Nadu* ('the good Dravida land') Caldwell grouped the four major languages of the South and called them

[49] N. Subramanian, Tamilian Historiography, Op.cit., p. 82.

the *Dravidian Family* of languages. Where as Prof. Sundaram Pillai grouped the fourth different landscape as the *Dravida Nadu* Besides Prof. Sundaram Pillai identified Adi Sankara's use of the phrase *Dravida Sishu* ("Dravidian Child") as St.Sambandar and popularized it in his work. The present scholar thinks that at a later time Periyar E.V.Ramasami received his inspiration for asking the formation of the Dravida Nadu from Bishop Caldwell and Prof. Sundaram Pillai.

The then available scholarship on the Dravidian Movement traced its ideological origins to the pioneering philological work of Caldwell. The word 'Dravida' began to gain wide acceptance among South Indian scholars only after the publication of his work. It was believed then that any Non-Aryan language could have originated from Sanskrit. However, until the end of the 18^{th} century much research had not been done to unravel the antiquity of the Dravidian languages. This darkness of the scholarly world was perhaps due to lack of interest among scholars or owing to the absence of a developed methodology in language study.

Caldwell not only borrowed the word 'Dravidian' to describe the languages and the people of South India, but constructed, with the aid of the modern sciences of philology, archaeology, and history, a new geneology for the Dravidian languages, culture and people. It dealt a severe blow to the age old theory that Tamil was not independent. Earlier, the Sanskrit scholars, particularly the Indologists, argued that all the Indian languages were the offshoots of Sanskrit. Initially all these Indologists accepted this view. Later Caldwell removed all these fallacies and dispelled ignorance that prevailed in India. His work provided a significant intellectual base for the rise of a class of non-Brahmins. It served as a significant ideological weapon against the Brahmin socio – cultural and intellectual hegemony in South India.

His findings about Tamil language may be summed up as follows:

1. Of all the Dravidian languages, Tamil is the most ancient and refined language.

2. Tamil has the guiding power for all the other Dravidian languages.

3. Tamil is the only language which has the capacity to function without depending on Sanskrit.

4. If Sanskrit loan words are removed we can get pure Tamil.

5. The grammar of Tamil is on a par with other ancient languages of the world.

These findings impressed the scholarly world, beyond doubt. The redefinition of the word ‘Dravida’ by Caldwell was an unanticipated legacy to the non-Brahmins of Southern India to do wider research in this field.

Caldwell’s discovery that the Dravidian represented a language family which in all respects is independent of the Aryan group was sensational to the Indologists and a new revelation to the Dravidologists. Encouraged by this many multi linguists began to tread over the path blazed by, Caldwell to assess the uniqueness of his Dravidian theory. Some went to the extent of accusing him of conspiring against Sanskrit. But many other scholars including Prof. Sundaram Pillai felt the real merit of it.

Caldwell very emphatically stated that Tamil survived all the tests of time and withstood all onslaughts from the North, particularly from Aryan Sanskritists. Emerging from these assaults, Tamil held sway over the whole of South and continues to rule over the hearts of its speakers. This is considered as an attack on the Sanskritists

and an affront to Sanskrit and the Sanskritists therefore began to demigrate this ideology. But infact, it served as a catalyst to the Daravidologists to dispel the darkness that mystified the antiquity of the Dravidian languages, the Dravidians and the Dravidadesa. Caldwell brought out an amazing truth that about 21 languages including Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam etc., belong to the family of Dravidian languages. Apart from this historical truth, the other ingredients of the Dravidians are not completely brought to the lime-light and we are constrained to think that a systematic conspiracy must have been hatched and instituted on a large scale to suppress and subjugate the glories of Dravidian in every field.[50]

Dravidian although a term of controversy among native and foreign scholars, is a compact ideology borrowed and used by European Dravidologists in the last century from early Indian history and literature. It was popularized by Caldwell and conceptualized by Prof.P.Sundaram Pillai, the author of the Tamil play Manonmaniam. The term is not a invention of the European Dravidologist, has a hoary past buried deep in the Indian history and literature. It had been used in variant forms as Damila, Tramila, Timili, Dravida, Dravidi, and Dravidian in early North Indian and Deccani literatures, inscriptions, and grammatical works. When the European Indologists and Dravidologists discovered the antiquity of India, they distinguished and differentiated two racial and linguistic groups dominating the life of the Indian sub continent. They called them the Aryan (North Indian) and the Dravidian (South Indian). Caldwell for the first time, read a linguistic meaning into the term and popularized it.[51]

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[50] J.David BaskaraDoss, op.cit., p.44.

[51] Dr. K. Sadasivan, (ed.) G. Prem Kumar, "Bishop Caldwell's Re-definition of Dravida," Tamil Nadu History congress, V Annual Session, Souvenir, p.28.

It is a truism to say that the study of Dravidian languages has far advanced since the days of Caldwell. Prof.S.Guptan Nair quoted his Prof.K.Godanda Varma on the limitations of Caldwell's work.[52]

The oriental philologist and the Tamil grammarian Caldwell presumed that the word 'Tamizhan' was a mutilated form of the Sanskrit term *Dravidian*. Historically speaking, it is the other way round. Caldwell never had an opportunity to look into the literature of Sangam Age. Now the linguists have clearly pointed out that Dravidian is a mutilated form of Tamizh (Doss 183)?

Thamilan? Thramilan? Dramidan? Dravidan? Dravidan? The word, Tamizh does not occur in the Sanskrit dictionary whereas the term *Dravidian* means *Tamizhan* has secured a place in it. That means the Sanskrit dictionary has the record of only the mutilated form of *Tamizhi*.

Now the usage of this terminology has a wider currency which goes beyond the Tamil language and includes the whole of Dravidian race. Of yore, India was inhabited by the Dravidians throughout its length and breadth. Now the Dravidians occupy 90% of the total population.[53]

It may not be wrong to call Caldwell as the father of the Dravidian Movement. His work laid the theoretical foundation of the political, academic and cultural movement that came to dominate Tamilian life in the twentieth century. His studies have been in terms of the cultural and political contradictions between the newly arisen non-Brahmin elites and the Brahmins who had achieved a pre-eminent place under

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[52] "Presidential Address" Prof.S.Guptan Nair, *28th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists*, Idaiyangudi, 22-24, June 2000,p.1

[53] J. David Baskaran Doss, Proceedings of the First All India conference of BCRC, Idaiyangudi, Tirunelveli.

colonial rule in the Madras Presidency. It is linked to the political and cultural legacies of the British attempt to demilitarize the Tamil Society. His writings presupposed a teleological project which was not uncommon to what was conceived as great intellectual undertakings in that era of empire building. According to the author the bases of Caldwell's theory were,

a) that the British empire was destined to finally bring order amongst Tamils, a large portion of whom had been more prone to the habit of war than to the arts of peace from the dawn of history in South India.

b) that this order would be the one in which the eminent Protestant ethos of the Dravidian Civilization would reach its full expressional ethos which the English administrators saw as the virtue of those classes which contrasted favorably with the Maravar, and the Bishop considered the legitimate Tamilians.

c) that the rediscovery of Dravidian linguistic and cultural uniqueness would help consolidate the position of the lower classes among the Tamils who had played an important role in the military expansion of British rule in the sub-continent. The Tamil Christian soldiers who were the Empire's alternative to the traditional Tamil military castes.[54]

In Tamil Nadu credit goes to Makaral Karthikeya Mudaliar T.P. Meenakshi Sundararanar, M. Varadharajan, Devaneyapavanan, Gnanaprakash Nadar, V.I. Subramanian, S. Akathialingam, Venkata Krishnan, Israel, Neethivanan, Sundaramoorthi, Ilankumaran, Aruli, Sattur Sekaran and Arasendran for having

[54] "On Tamil Militarism" – Essay Part -6. Bishop Caldwell and the Tamil Dravidians Lanka Guardian, pp.15-16. (Prepared by Sachi Srikantha, for Electronic record) 15, July 1992.

involved themselves in linguistic research. Akathialingam says that there are more than 3000 languages in the world (Ulaga mozhigal 5th Volume, introduction). Kenneth Katzuer (Languages of the World-Forward) says that 3000 to 4000 languages are being spoken in the world. *World Watch Institutions of America* says that there are 6800 languages in the world. Godsner says it is difficult to say which are great languages (பெரு மொழிகள்) and which are dialects. Among the languages of today only 2000 languages are significant.[55]

According to Akathialingam there are 13 Family of Languages in the world as follows:

1) Indo-European
2) Africa – Asian
3) Euralic-Altoik,
4) Chinese-Tibetan,
5) Dravidian,
6) South East Asian,
7) Malaya-Polinesian,
8) Pappuvan,
9) Australian,
10) America-Indian,
11) Japanese,
12) Iorean, and
13) Bask language.[56]

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55 Dr. Malaiaman, Chevvial Mozhi Tamil, Anbu Pathippakan yr), No 4A, Dr. Arangachari, Road, Chennai -18, p.26.
56 Ibid., p.27.

But Kenneth Katzner identified 7 more groups of languages.[57] Both of them included Dravidian languages in their, list. (Hindi, Urdu, Karvali, West Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Mythili, Bihari, Bengali, Oriya, Assame are being spoken by 70% of the people. Munda languages are being spoken by East Indian and Central Indian people. 14 languages such as Chandali, Mundari, Korwa and Kasi are being spoken by 1.5% of the people – Chino Tibetan languages are being spoken in Assam, Nagaland, ArunaChal Pradesh and Manipur by 75% of the people.[58] It is said that Greek literature rose in the 9th century B.C. But we cannot date the antiquity of Tamil likewise. History of Tamil literature starts from the disappeared/vanished Kumari continent (Lemuria). In that continent was the First Sangam and the elites say that it was in C.B.C. 8000. Hegel says that there was a continent in Indian Ocean and that disappeared. Edward Scad and Pandit Abraham and Pavanar refer to the erosion of the sea which devoured the landscape.[59]

After the deluge the people scattered all over India, occupied North – West India and established a developed civilization called the Indus-valley civilization or the Harappan culture. The Aryans who entered India through the Kyber-Polan pass found in India an already highly developed Culture, the main representatives of which were the Dravidians who are still predominant in Southern India.[60]

Indus Valley Civilization belonged to the Tamils of the remote past. The Rulers of Harappa were Tamils of the Velir Tribe-Irungovel a Tamilan was in the Indus region Says, P.Ramanathan, Sir, John Marshall, Fr.Heras, Asko Parpolo, I.Mahadevan. J.M. Roberts, D.K.Michael, Mathivanan, Sathur Sekaran say that the Indus Valley

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[57] Ibid., p.28.
[58] P. Dravid Prabakar, Thamil Mozhi Arimugam Chennai, p.5.
[59] Ibid., pp.108-109.
[60] Dr. Betty Heimann, Indian and Western Philosophy p.21.

civilization was of the Tamilans.[61] Not only that some other ancient civilizations of the world had contacts with the Tamils. R.C.Hunter says that the Indus Valley Civilization had contacts with Sumerian Ur and Gir. R.H.Hall says that the Sumerians and Tamils belonged to the same race beyond any doubt.

Herodotus ‘the Father of History’ says that ancient Egyptian habits and customs were very much akin to the Tamils. Moreover, he says that the inhabitants of Crete were Themilar. P.T.Srinivasa Iyengar says that Phoenicians were Tamils. Greek literature says that the Greeks learnt scripts from these Phoenicians (Tamils). When the Aryans came to the Indus Valley, they called the aborigines as Dasyus. Dasas or Dasyu were the Tamils. The seals discovered from the Indus Valley were deciphered by R.Mathivanan, who says that the words and letters of the seals are Tamil[62] Fr.H.Heras too held the same view/opinion. He says that the Indus writing was proto-Dravidian.[63]

At present the Dravidian languages are mostly spoken in Southern India. Nearly 25% of the people speak them. Not only in Southern India but also in central and North Western parts of India. Baluchistan in Pakistan, Brahui a Dravidian language is being spoken. Brahui is a glaring example for the prevalence of Dravidians throughout India especially in Indo-Gangtic region. There are Tamil words in Tibet[64].

It is a wrong notion that Dravidian Languages live to borrow words and Sanskrit is to lend words. For a pretty long time Tamil was in contact with Sanskrit, but it securely safeguarded/retained its own special features.[65] Tamil is a language of the Tamils for more than 2000 years and keeps written records and separate literature for

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[61] Malaiaman, op.cit., p.109
[62] Ibid., pp.109-110.
[63] K. Shunmugam, *Thol Tamilvaralaru* (T1), Chennai.
[64] P.David Prabakar, Op.cit.,p.12.
[65] Ahathialingam Op.cit.,p.28.

more than 2000 years. It has not been much affected by Sanskrit. It secures ancient features of grammar and words.[66]

The word Centamil found in Tolkappiyam explains the செவ்வியல் nature (classicism) of Tamil. Caldwell and Parithimar Kalaignar proved that, Tamil possesses higher qualities of Cemmozhi and could act independently. G.U.Pope, Fr.Heras, Thaninayagam Adigal also established the status of Tamil in International fora.[67] Some linguistic chauvinists are of the opinion that some languages were created by God and some others are spoken by sinners, Sanskrit is said to have had a divine origin and therefore a higher language or language of the elites, a religious language, a philosophic language and so on. But, the excavations conducted at Harappa and Mohanjodaro and the linguistic researches conducted world over about Tamil changed this notion.[68]

There is a view that the Dravidian languages are difficult to speak and learn. It has for long been the general opinion among some groups. But the new findings exposed the ignorance and indifference to the Dravidian languages, even among professed Indological linguistic scholars. They must not of course, be judged too harshly. The view that the Dravidian languages are not easy and most of them are languages spoken by backwards “primitives” and are badly reported. On the other hand, the four literary languages have enormous literatures.

Tamil is both the spoken and writing language of the masses, who do not find Tamil a difficult language. But for the Europeans Tamil as a means of communication between them and the Indian servants of the Raj was difficult. Besides Tamil of the 6th

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[66] P. David Prabakar, Op.cit., p.15.
[67] Ibid., p.20.
[68] Ahathialingam, op.cit.,p.26.

century A.D was never the official language of the rulers. Again, the Tamils do not have an official tone or English.[69] Max Muller the great Verdic scholar, says that Tamil is the most highly cultivated language and possesses the richest store house of indigenous literature. There can be no doubt about the antiquity of Tamil, the Tamils and Tamilaham. Valmikhi, the author of the *Ramayana* and Kautilya, the author of *Arthasastra* who are said to have lived in the eighth and the fourth centuries B.C. respectively make mention of *Kavatapuram*, the *Pandya kavate*, the second capital of the Pandyas. The *Ramayana* speaks of the Tambraparni River, Agasthia in the Malayamalai (the podiyil hills), and the natures beauty of the Tirunelveli region, *Suvedaranyam* (vedaranyam) near Pumpuhar and Muziri on the mouth of the Periyaru.[⊗]

In the most ancient layers of the Tamil language can be discovered not only ample trace of Neolithic Culture but also the birth of the Iron Age Culture which succeeded it[70] Robert Bruce Foote Collection contains materials about the Pre-history, proto-history and history of South India. Pre historic sites such as Pallavaram Atampakkam, Korttalaiyar, innnumerable sites near Virudhunagar, Kodiakanal, Mysore and Madurai have throwing light on the pre-history and the proto-history and Neolithic history of South India[71]. Adicchanallur in Tirunelveli District serves as the best instance of a megalithic site in Tamil Nadu. South India formed a larger part of the continental area known as the Gondvana land, which extended through Madagascar and South Africa to South America on the one side and through Malay Archipelago to Australia on the other. Different races entered and inhabited India through North

[69] Gilbert Slater, The Dravidian Elements in Indian Culture, London, 1923, p.17.
[⊗] K. Sadasivan, The Age of Muciri: A study from some sanskrit works, proceedings of the 30th Annual Session of *South Indian History Congress*, Madurai, 2011.
[70] V.R.R. Dikshitar, Pre-Historic South India, p.179.
[71] Ibid., p.5.

Eastern and North Western passes. Before their inhabitation, lived aboriginals in India, that aboriginals were ancient Tamils or Dravidians. Many still held this view. Few hold another view that the aboriginals were not Dravidians but Nagas. They held the view that Dravidians were like other races to have entered India.[72] It is regarded as certain that Dravidian speakers were at one time spread over the whole of Northern India as well as Baluchistan to Bengal.[73] Aryans speaking Sanskrit had come down through the western passes into North India by about 1900 B.C. There they came into contact with a city-state like civilization, the Dravidian Civilization, and learnt much from it.[74]

Another view of Dravidians put forth by Rev. Heras is we are therefore forced to acknowledge that the Dravidians of India, after a long period of Development in this country, travelled westwards, and settling successfully in the various lands, they found their way from Mesopotamia upto the British Isles, spread their race afterwards named Mediterranean owing to the place where they were known anthropologically - through the West and made their civilization flourish in two continents being thus the originators of the modern world civilization[75] Parimelazhahar says of the origin of Tamil people as follows, "கல்தோன்றி? மண் தோன்றாக் காலத்திற்கு முன் தோன்றிய மூத்த குடியினர்" This indicates the age after the formation of Rock and before the origin of Sand. The people lived during this age spoke Tamil. Nobody could estimate the age of Tamil[76]. Some International Linguistic Researchers are of the view that, Tamil Language is the first of all languages of the world. Still some say that it is prior to Latin and Greek. Still others equivalised it with Greek, Latin and Chinese. This

[72] M. Varadarajan, Op. cit., p.321.
[73] S.K. Chetter jee, The Origin and the Development of the Bengali Language, I, p.28.
[74] H.G. Wells, *Short History of the World*, Ch. XIX
[75] Rev. H. Heras, Studies in Proto – Indo – Mediterranean Culture, p. 221.
[76] Dr. K.A.P. Viswanatham, Pari Nilayam, 184 Broadway, Chennai 108, p. 16.

shows the Antiquity of Tamil[77] From the ancient Chinese travellers Hieun Tsang and Fahien to the later G.U.Pope, Caldwell, Winslow and Taylar were from different Countries, and different colours, belonged to different religion speaking different languages, appreciated and talked high of the cultured nature of Tamil. No ancient languages of the world was appreciated such as Tamil[78]. Tamilar Civilisation is prior to any other civilizations of the world. It was the Tamilians who used Reasoning Power at first.

They only raised men to the human status from inhuman status. While the others led a nomadic life the Tamils led a settled life. While others used leather, barks and leaves of tress to cloth themselves, the Tamilians wore beautiful woven dress using cotton, silk and of different hairs[79]. Tamil means இனிமை it is a flourishing language. Eventhough it gave birth to languages such as Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam, still it retained its virgin nature/virginity. No other languages in the world is as old (antiquity) young and இனிமை like Tamil. Even the languages originated after Tamil were disappeared. Ex. Sanskrit. It came to our country without script and borrowed scripts from our Mother Tamil. Now it reached the status of dead language, remained in literature alone and not in speech form. Our Tamil donated (lent) numbers to the world languages. But Tamil lost its excellence because of the jealous (T.B) Sanskrit[80]. Tamil research Scholars inferred that Tamil is an independent, language possessing இனிமை, இயல்பு and ancient in nature. It's true that Tamilar Civilisation is the first Civilisation of the World (உலக முதல் நாகரிகம்)[81]

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[77] Ibid., p. 17.
[78] Ibid., p. 17.
[79] S. Gaumareeswari, Editor, Thamil Vazhha, Saradha Pathippakam, Rayapettai, Chennai, 1st ed., August 2006. 14, p. 56.
[80] Ibid., p. 55.
[81] Ibid., p. 57.

Tamil is an ancient language In 1860, Coasta Pulsra wrote a Tamil Grammar Book in Latin. Kamil Zvelebil marked that Bruno had written a Tamil Grammar Book, Ziegenbalg wrote a Tamil Grammar Book. Beshi wrote a Grammar for Colloquial Tamil. Ellis and Caldwell too did investigations of Comparative Grammar[82] In the words of V.R.R. Dheetsadar, 1. Europeans including English people and other races originated from ancient Tamils. 2) Ancient Tamil Civilisation developed in Mohenjodaro was a cause for the development of Egyptian, Balylonian, Phoenecian Civilisation of Mediterranean region[83]. Ellis, Caldwell (1856,) L.V. Ramasamy Iyer, Yules Block (1946) Emano and Burrow (1961) and Pattachariar were some eminents who found the origin of Original Dravidian formation, the relationship between sounds (ஒலிகள்)of the words. Caldwell says that Tamil is an ancient language of the Dravidian Family of Languages, it s a cultivated language and could reveal the real status of Dravida.[84]

It seems that no one involved in the investigation of Dravidian Languages before 19th century. For the first time Ellis investigated the relationship between the four languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannadam. In 1856 Caldwell published his comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages and sowed seeds for the further development of this family of languages. Later, L.V.Ramasamy Iyer, Yules Block, Emano, Burrow, Pattacharya, Ahathialingam, V.S.Subramaniam were indulged in this investigation. Later investigation, says that the number of Dravidian Languages increased up to twenty five including Thoda, Ollari, Kotta, Bengo, Naiksi, Kathaba, Barji, Kurava, Irula etc[85]., G.Devaneyabavanar opines that God created him to redeem

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[82] Dr.Shanmuga Selva Ganapathy, Mozhi Varalarum Mozhi Iyalum (Tl) City Pathipakam, N.M.N, complex Gandhi Road, Palani p. 10
[83] Ibid,p.12.
[84] Ibid, p.14
[85] Ibid., p.29.

Tamil from the influence of Sanskrit.[86] Eventhough many (people) had written about Lemuria (Kumarikandam) Pavanr analysed it fully on the basis of historical sources and established the truth that Kumari Kandam was the birth place/origin of Tamilar. We must remember here the following fact of Ekkale that "Lemuria was the cradle of mankind.[87] The antiquity and speciality of Tamil could be seen in the poetry of Bharathiar,

"தமிழுக்கும் அமுதென்று பேர் - அந்தத்
தமிழின்பத் தமிழெங்கள் உயிருக்கு நேர்"

Tamil is being described as Chen Thamil, Theen Thamil, Bainthamil, Uyar Thamil, Inba Thamil and Chelu Thamil. Kambar says என்று முள தென்தமிழ் - Bharathiar exalts Tamil as "யாமறிந்த மொழிகளிலே தமிழ்மொழிபோல் இனிதாவது எங்கும் காணோம்". Tamil being the Mother tongue of 9 crores of people, one of the ancient languages of the world with flourishing literature. In India it lives as a Chief of all Dravidian Languages.[88] Dravidian Languages belong to one family, we can't say which one came forth from which. Each one has its own form and shoots as separate language. Tamil directly gave birth to Malayalam alone/only. Still Tamil stands unattacked / unaffected by Sanskrit. It's antiquity and purity could be seen in the languages of poets as well as farmers. It acts without mixing Sanskrit. Telugu and Kannadam are also very old languages but they do not have Literary antiquity.[89] Tamil has flourishing word power. To denote one thing, there are many words in Tamil. Ex.Veedu, II, Manai, Kudi all these words denote only house.[90] People's

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[86] G. Devaneyapavanar, Thamilar Varalaru (II Part), Thamil Man Pathipakam, Ahamad Vaniha Valaham, 293, Thiru. V. Ka. High way, Royapet, Chennai- 14, Aninthurai p. xiii.
[87] Ibid, pp. xiv, xv.
[88] Dr. Shanmuga Selva Ganapathy, Op.cit., p.p. 8,9.
[89] Dr. R. Seenivasan, Mozhi, Oppiyalum, Varalarum, Aniyaham, 22, Chellammal Street, Chennai-30, April, 1980, p.2.
[90] Ibid, p.3

political life found place in inscriptions. In Kannada in and in Telugu Region these inscriptions are in Sanskrit but in Tamil Nadu it is inscribed in Tamil and not in Sanskrit.[91] R.Seenivasan accepts the fact that Linguistic Investigations are on the progress. Caldwell denotes only 12 languages as Dravidian but nowadays it is proved that they are more than Twenty.[92]

Caldwell says that Dravidian languages are entirely different from Sanskrit. Very few/limited Sanskrit words are found in Tamil. Dravidian root words are different from Sanskrit root words. Dravidian grammar is also entirely different from Sanskrit grammar.[93] Prof. Burrow who analysed Sanskrit and Tamil thoroughly came to a conclusion that many of the non-sanskritic words found in Sanskrit are Dravidian words. Therefore the Researchers found the truth that, in later ages Sanskrit words found place in Tamil, like wise in the ancient age Tamil words found place in Sanskrit. Caldwell and Gundert listed many such words. அக்கா, அத்தை, அடவி, அணி, அம்பா (அம்மா), ஆலி (தெலுங்கில் மனைவி என்ற பொருள் உள்ளது) கடுக (கடுகு) காவேரி, குடி, குணி, கூலு (குளம்) கோட்ட (கோட்டை) நீர, பள்ளி (ஊர்) மீன வளையம், சவ (சாவு), சாய (மாலைப் பொழுது; சாய்தல் - தமிழ்) Caldwell says that the above such words were got by Sanskrit from Dravidian languages. Gundert listed the following as Dravidian Words.

குண்டா	-	தமிழ் - குண்டு; தெலுங்கு-குண்டா கன்-குணி; தமிழ் குழி
கோகில	-	திராவிடம் குயில்
கோடா	-	தெலுங்கு குர்ரம், குதிரை (தமிழ்)
நாரங்க	-	திரா, நார் (மணம்), மலை (நாரங்ங) நாரங்காய்
பல(Phala)	-	பழம் (தமிழ்)
மருத்த	-	தமிழ் - மருந்து

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91 Ibid, p.4.
92 Ibid p.5.
93 Ibid.p.7.

ஹொம்பா	-	தமிழ் - எருமை
முக்தா	-	தமிழ்-முத்து
ராத்திரி	-	இரவு
விரல	-	விரல் (தமிழ்) விரி (அடிச்சொல்)[94]

On the pretext of Tamil Writers and Renaissance writers some foes/enemies of Tamil mingle Sanskrit with Tamil. It is not true that Tamil will progress if we mingle words from other languages. "கற்களைக் கலந்தால் தான் அரிசி வளரும்" என்பதைப் போன்றது.[95] V.K.Surianarayana Sastri alias Parithimar Kalaiznar reveals a fact that the Northerners translated many Tamil books in their language and then they destroyed the originals.[96] Pavanar sticked to this view and revealed explanatory ideology. He made it clear that the Northerners pretend vailing as if the 'grandson beget grandfather. Pavanar pinpointed the pro-Aryan attitude of Caldwell as follows Caldwell had wrongly inferred that the higher qualities or features of Tamilian Civilisation is of Aryans.[97]

Before the advent of Aryans Dravidian Language prevailed all over India. Some Mangoils entered through North Eastern Passes and later Aryans through North Western Passes and settled on the bank of Indus. They mingled with the Dravidians lived there. Dravidians led a civilized life. Aryans became influential in Political and Religious aspects. They learnt Dravidian scripts and formed language and called it as Sanskrit. The hitherto unwritten arts were being written in newscript. Dravidian too patronized that. They did not struggle against this. So the Aryans deep-rooted there and made their strongholds. Gradually they extended their settlement to Gangetic Valley. At that time few opposed the new Civilisation. They wanted to remain as pure Dravidians. They became victims of mixed Dravidians. They were hated and ignored

[94] Ibid pp.10-11.
[95] Dr. K.A.P. Viswanatham, Op.cit., pp.22-23.
[96] G. Devaneya Pavanar, Op.cit., p.XV.
[97] Ibid, Introduction p.XXIX.

by them. They became minorities and pushed back in the Social ladder as Slaves. They were made to live in the outskirts. While North India witnessed a social change the South remained undisturbed. They never cared for the Tamilians lived in the North. Later Aryans were attracted by the good administration and their glorious trade entered South India. Though they spread their language and religion in the south they were not able to dominate the South. Because of the influence of the deep rooted Tamil language and the patronage of Chera Chola and Pandya Kings. Eventhough Sanskrit words found place in Tamil Nadu Inscription, they were not able to uproot Tamil in those Inscriptions.[98]

Caldwell found out that there are more than 20 Tamil words in Sanskrit Vedas. From this it is derived that Tamil existed before Sanskrit[99] Sanskrit put forth a Challenge to Tamil. வடபுலத்து மொழிகளை வென்று தின்றேன். உன்னையும் விடேன் என்று சமஸ்கிருதம் தமிழை நோக்கிக் கூவியது. From that day to this day Tamil race struggled continuously with Sanskrit. The supporters of Sanskrit are trying to ruin Tamil. Aryan is good and Tamil is bad. The white people who came from abroad தமிழ் மொழியின் உறக்கத்தைக் கலைத்தனர். They made the world know the reality of Tamil by removing Sanskrit mosses. Caldwell to Kamil Zvelebil realized the goodness of Tamil.[100] Pali and Prakrit are as old as Tamil. They are related to Tamil. The word Tamil is found in Tolkapiam. This establish the antiquity of Tamil.[101] Many learned men opines that the influence of Dravidian languages is more in Indo Aryan Languages. Many elites who had written about this were August Frederic Patt, Caldwell, Boolar, Stenkonov, Gundert, Jules Block. Kittel, Chatterji, Emanoe, and

[98] Dr. M. Vradharajan Op.cit, p.p.330-335.
[99] Dr. Malaiamman, Op.cit., p. 111.
[100] Poet Thamizh Oli, Varalatil Thamizh Inam, Thirukural Pathipakam, 66/1, Periar St., M.G.R. Nagar, Chennai-78, p.25.
[101] Ibid., p.52.

Burrow. Patt when he talks about retroflex (நாமடி ஒலிகள்) found many in Sanskrit says that - these are from other languages spoken in India.[102] Burrow wrote about the influence of Dravidian Languages. Even in Rig Veda Dravidian words mingled. As days passed by this increased and Dravidian words entered more Even if we see superficially we could see Dravidian influence in Sanskrit.[103] In earlier times these Dravidian areas must have been bigger and more thinly. This is why we find the influence of Dravidian on Indo-Aryan so great, and also why it has continued to be active during each successive period.[104]

Hitherto more than 25 Dravidian languages have been found out. It includes some dialects too. Dravidian languages are divided into three on the basis of geographical distribution, shared innovations and common features. They are,

1. Southern Dravidian languages
2. Middle Dravidian languages
3. Northern Dravidian languages

Among the Dravidian languages only Tamil, Telugu Kannadam and Malayalam have scripts. These have flourishing literature and grammar. These are official languages and medium of instruction in their respective states[105] Nearly 25% of the people of our country speak Dravidian languages[106] Among the Dravidian languages Tamil is ancient (antiquity) It has evidences of written records and separate literature for more than two thousand years. It is not affected much by the influence and impact

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102 Ibid., p.30.
103 Ibid., p.35.
104 Ibid., p.37.
105 P. David Prabakar, op.cit, p.14.
106 Ibid., p.12.

of Sanskrit. It is retaining the antiquity of grammatical features and words[107] The region of Tamil speaking was demarcated by Tolkappiam is as follows, வடவேங்கடம் தென்குமரி ஆயிடை தமிழ் கூறு நல்லுலகத்து'.........(தொல்.பாயிரம்) Purananuru and Pathirtupathu indicates Himalayas as the Northern boundry of Tamilaham (பனிபடுநெடுவரை) (Puram 6, Pathirthupathu 11:23-24) Bishop Dr.Robert Caldwell denotes the Tamil speaking region as the land between Western Ghats and Bay of Bengal from Palaverkadu to Kumari.[108] Tamil is being spoken not only in Tamil Nadu but in various parts of the world. Tamil is being spoken in Srilanka from time immemorial. About 3.35 million people are speaking Tamil in Srilanka. More over considerable amount of Tamilians are living in Burma, Malasia, Indonesia, Singapore, S.Africa, Morituis, Guiana, Fiji, Madacascar, and Trinidad. Tamil is the official language of Ceylon, Singapore and Malasia. ஆயினும் பல நாடுகளில் அது வீட்டு மொழியாக மட்டுமே உள்ளது.[109]

Even a century after Caldwell had published Comparative Grammar the Linguistic principle of Tamil didn't get explanation. According to Caldwell Dravidian is an index word denoting both the cultivated (Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Kannadam, Thulu, and Kudagu) and the uncultivated languages (Thutham, Gotham, Kondu, Ku, Orien and Rajmahal). It has the Sanskritic origin as 'Thravida' or Thramida[110] Brahathsamhita of Varahamihirar used the word Thramida instead of Thravida[111] Tharanathar says Thravidar was known as Thramilar. Mahavamsam denotes the word as Thamil[112] Pali language denotes as Thamilo and Demnark Fathers called as

[107] Ibid., p.15.
[108] Ibid, p.18.
[109] Ibid., p.19.
[110] Kavinjar Thamizh Oli Op.cit., p.43.
[111] Ibid., p.44.
[112] Ibid., p.44

Thamulika, the ancient formation of these words is nothing but Tamil.[113] Sanskrit denotes 'Nali (நாழி) (நாடி) because there is no 'ழ' in Sanskrit. So Caldwell had come to a conclusion that Thramida is Thamil. It tend to discard the natural sounds of தகர and மகர[114]

Bishop Caldwell's derivation of Tamil is as follows.[115]

Sanskrit	**Tharvidam**
த்ர	த
மி	மி
ட	(ழ) ழ்
(த்ரமிட)	தமிழ்

But it is clear that the poets of his age did not accept this derivation. We accept the word Thravidam as an index word. But we don't like to derive Thamil from Thravidam.[116] If we take it into consideration that the ancient languages such as Prakrit, Pali, Paisasam, Brahmi as Dravidian languages the principles of deriving Thamil from Thravidam disappears.[117] Caldwell is of the opinion that for clarity it is better to denote the particular language in the name (Tamil) and to denote the family in another name i.e Dravidian.[118]

The word Dravidar could be found in Ramayanam, Manusmriti, Bharatham and Bahavatham. In AD 8th century Kumarilabattar used the phrase Andhra Dravida Bhasha. According to him Andhra denotes Telugu and Dravida denotes Tamil. In general North Indian Literature used the word, Dravidar to denote the people. Dravida

113 Ibid., p.48.
114 Ibid., p.49.
115 Ibid., p.50.
116 Ibid., p.46.
117 Ibid., p.46.
118 Dr. M. Varadharajan Op.cit., p.324.

Vedam is the word used to denote the anthologies of Alwars and Nayanmars. Sankarachariar denotes Thiru Gnana Sambandar as 'Dravida Sisu[119] Still latter on the people who lived South of the Vindhya ranges were designated as Pancha Dravidas Viz., Maharashtra, Andhra, Dravida, Karnataka and Gujarat.[120] According to Caldwell, the Sanskrit equivalent of the word Tamil is Dravidam. [121]

International family of languages are divided into three viz., Isolative, Agglutinating and Inflexional. Dravidian languages are of the second type i.e. Agglutinating. Because of the Post-Positional Suffixes of Dravidian languages they are classified as Agglutinative Family of languages. European linguists viewed this Family of languages as Indo-European dialects. But this principle was rejected during the last century. Colebrooke, Wilkins and Carey says that Sanskrit gave birth to Dravidian languages.[122] The supposition of the derivation of the Dravidian languages from Sanskrit, though entertained in the past generation by a Colebrooke, a Carey and a Wilkins is now known to be entirely destitute of foundation.[123] The Comparative Linguists must compare the particular language's Fundamental roots and grammatical structure to establish the validity. Caldwell was of that type and established the fact that Dravidian Languages are of a separate family of languages[124]. The non-Sanskritic portion of the Dravidian languages was very greatly excess of the Sanskrit.[125] Caldwell says that, Tamil, the most highly cultivated abintra of all Dravidian idioms, can dispense with its Sanskrit altogether, if need be, and not only stand alone, but flourish without its aid or assistance.[126] The ancient or classical Tamil language, called

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[119] Ibid,p.324.
[120] V.R.R. Dikshitar, Pre-Historic South India, p.203.
[121] Dr.Caldwell, A comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages, Introduction, pp. 4-5.
[122] R. Arangasamy Op.cit., p.144.
[123] Dr. Caldwell – A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages, p.42.
[124] R. Arangasamy Op.cit., p.144.
[125] Ibid., p.147.
[126] Dr. Caldwell, Op.cit., p.45.

'Centamil,' in which nearly all the literature has been written contains exceedingly little Sanskrit; and differs from the Colloquial dialect.[127] In our language we have mainly accepted in the north of India the Aryanspeech, but this speech has been very deeply modified, and that on the lines of the pre-Aryan languages, while in the South the old languages survive although they have been profoundly influenced by the speech of the Aryan as naturalized in India and as it progressed in the various periods.[128] The following extracts from Caldwell's 1875 preface are relevant: . It had been his Chief object throughout his work the Comparative Grammar to promote a more systematic and scientific study of the Dravidian Languages themselves - for their own sake, irrespective of theories respecting their relationship to other languages - by means of a careful inter comparison of their grammars. Whilst he had never ceased to regard this as his chief object, he had at the same time considered it desirable to notice, as opportunity occurred, such principles, forms, and roots as appeared to bear any affinity to those of any other language or family of languages, in the hope of contributing thereby to the solution of the question of their ultimate relationship. That question has never yet been scientifically solved, though one must hope that it will be solved some day. It has not yet got beyond the region of theories, more or less plausible. His own theory is that the Dravidian languages occupy a position of their own between the languages of the Indo-European family and those of the Turanian or Scythian group - not quite a midway position, but one considerably nearer the latter than the former. The particulars in which they seem to me to accord with the Indo-European languages are numerous and remarkable, and some of them, it will be seen are of such a nature that it is impossible, he thought to suppose that they have been accidental; but the relationship to which they testify - in so far as they do testify to any real relationship - appears to

[127] Ibid., p.45.
[128] S.K.Chatterji, Indo, Aryan and Hindi, Op.cit., p.32.

him to be very indefinite as well as very remote.[129] Apart from literature written in classical (Indo-Aryan) Sanskrit, Tamil is the oldest literature in India.[130] Tamil highly cultivated and developed of Dravidian languages, perhaps the oldest spoken language of the worlds going back to pre-historic times; has rich vocabulary dating of Tamil literature is difficult[131]. In the words of Dr.Sumitha Kumar Chatterji, 'There cannot be any conception of India without either Dravidian and other pre Aryan or Aryan," Like the warp and woof of a piece of woven stuff, Aryan and Dravidian have become interlaid with each other to furnish the texture of Indian Civilisation.[132] Culture and Civilisation are being preserved and transmitted from one generation to the other by and through language. It is an accepted truth by the Scholars, that Indian Culture is the unification of the contribution of two parts they are Sanskrit and Dravidian. Tamil has contributed to Sanskrit, but knowingly or unknowingly its place has been neglected. That's why famous historians such as Vincent Smith denote that the historians of ancient Indian history had written as if there is no South Indian region. Tamil and Sanskrit are the two eyes of Indian Civilisation and culture.[133]

Caldwell and Parithimar Kalaijnar established the fact, that, Tamil is a Cemmoli of high rank and could act independently. G.U.Pope, Fr. Heras and Thaninayaka Adigal established the worthiness of Tamil in the arena of world. The trade links during Augustus, advent of Thomas to Tamilaham and the travelogues of Chinese scholars expressed the highness of Tamil to the world. Tamil is being spoken by more than 66 million of people of more than 40 countries of the world.[134] Tamil is apt to be called as

[129] An Article by P.Ramanathan, Proceedings of Third All India Conference of Bishop Caldwell Research Centre, Idaiyangudi (Tirunelveli District) May 6-7:2003.
[130] Encyclopaedia Britanica Vol.II, p.530.
[131] Encyclopaedia of India (Agan Prakasam, N.Delhi).
[132] Dr. V.S.Kulanthaisamy, Ulaga Cevviyal Molikalin Varisaiyil Tamil (T1) Bharathi Publishers, 126/108, Usman Road, T.Nagar, Chennai, II ed., September 2007, p.38.
[133] Ibid, pp.9-10.
[134] Dr.P.David Prabakar Op.cit., p.20.

Cevvial Mozhi. It posses all the Characteristic features of Cevvial Mozhi as follows, 1.Antiquity **(தொன்மை**) 2. Harmony **(ஒத்திசைவு**) 3. Clarity **(தெளிவு) 4.** Restraint **(தன்னடக்கம்)** 5. Serenity (**கண்ணியம்**) **6.** Idealism **(இலட்சியம்)** 7. Universality **(பொதுமை)** 8. Reason **(பகுத்தறிவு)** 9. Order (ஒழுங்கு) and 10. Humaneness **(கண்ணோட்டம்)**[135] Tamil is not only a living language but also a growing/developing language. It appears that the word 'Dravida' from which the term 'Dravidian' has been formed, though sometimes used in a restricted sense, equivalent to Tamil, is better fitted, not with standing for use as a generic term; in as much as it not only has the advantage of being more remote from ordinary usage, and somewhat more vague, but has also the further and special advantage of having already been occasionally used by native philologists in a generic sense. By the adoption of this term 'Dravidian' the word Tamilian has been felt free to signify that which is distinctively Tamil.[136] The term Dravida must be a corruption of the word Tamil.....So the Dravidian must legitimately refer to the growth and development of the Tamil language. But the word has been extended by modern scholars to all the allied languages and even as the generic name for all South Indian people.

Animated by a love of adventure the ancient South Indian left his shores by sea to the Mediterranean regions and the Far East and colonized these regions feeling the necessity for new homes. Those who left for the Mediterranean region were responsible for making the new Mediterranean race ... We must not forget that there was also a land route which led them to the Indus Valley, Baluchistan, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Thus there was contact perhaps intimate, contact of peoples and cultures. These we may all tentatively the makers of and the people responsible for, the Dravidian culture and

[135] Dr. V.S.Kulanthaisamy,Op.cit., p.51.
[136] V.R.R. Dikshitar, Prethistoric, South India, p.203.

Civilisation.[137] Not only Tamil or any South Indian language is not derived from Sanskrit, but if we find more analogies, which go to confirm our opinion that the Dravidian languages have to a great extent influenced the Sanskrit and even Vedic dialects.[138] Dravidian influences are far reaching in Character and must be held responsible for the transformation into its present form of the original Sanskrit Language.[139] Tamil and its group of languages was being called as Dravidian group of family in the 19th century itself. Since because Tamil is more cultivated and influential Europeans called it as the Tamilian Group or Family.[140] This group which is spoken of as the Tamulu, the Tamil and the Malabaric family.[141]

Language is an essential, principal tool for the development and growth of society. To apprehend the past history of a society and to set right the present and through that to create future growth and development, philology is essential.[142] Malayalam came into being / existence only 700 years ago. Before that, people of Malayalam were speaking Tamil. Their spoken Centamil and Codum Tamil became old Malayalam. And it got Sanskrit words and grammar and became new Malayalam.[143] Sanskrit and Dravidian are the two eyes of Indian Civilisation. But for the contribution of art, literature and culture, Sanskrit was taken into concern for deep and wider research. We are not viewing Indian history and culture with two eyes but with one eye. We thought that it is an entity in itself. But Dr.Vincent Smith's view reveals how far it is defective.[144] Dr.C.P.Ramasamy Ayer uttered the following in his convocation address at Pune University in 1953 i.e., The two greatest Components of culture in

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[137] Ibid., p.170.
[138] Ibid, p.190.
[139] Ibid p.191.
[140] Dr.M.VAradharajan Op.cit., p.323.
[141] Abelhovelacque, The Science of Language p.77.
[142] Dr. Portko, Ilakkana Ulakil Puthiya Paarvai Vol. 2, Ist ed 1981, New Century Book House, 41B, Chitco Industrial Estate, Ambatur, Chennai, Preface.
[143] Ramasubramania Navalar, Centhamil Nilayam, Nagercoil, p.9.
[144] Dr. V.S.Kulandaismy, Op.cit., p.40.

India are Sanskrit and Dravidian.[145] A truth will be revealed if we go through the pages of history. The land of Tamil Nad served as growing land of Sanskrit. Where else Sanskrit linguists took pride in talking high of Sanskrit and ill of Tamil. Dictionary gives the meaning of Tamil as Tamil language, Tamilians and Tamil kings.[146] Prof. Max Muller praised Tamil as a flourishing language having wealthy literary treasures of its own. Fr. Percival is of the view that Tamil is an unequivalent language having much expressing capacity.[147] Scholars have explored the word Tamil and expressed their views. There are two different opinions about the word/phrase Tamil. One group says that this word/phrase does not belong to Tamil and it is originated from Sanskrit. But others are of the opinion that it has Tamil origin. Subramania Dheetshithar of Alwar Tirunagari belonged to 17th century opined that the Sanskrit word Thiramilam gradually became Tamil.[148] Caldwell also had derived Tamil from the Sanskrit word Dramida. He says,

Sanskrit	Tamil
Dramida	Dramila
தமிள,	தமிழ்

S.K.Chatterjee too agreed with Caldwell. Caldwell had given ample evidences from Manusmiruti. Inthrae Bhramanam, Mahabaratham KumarilaBhattar, Plini, Adhisankar, Varahamihirar, Tharanath etc.,[149]

On contrary to the opinion of Caldwell many Scholars came out with the view that the word, Tamil has a Tamil origin and not of Sanskrit. Makaral Karthikeya

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145 Ibid., p.37.
146 Ibid., p.86.
147 Dr.P.Suembu, Tamil Ilakkia Arimugam (Tl), Lakshim Nilayam, 53/115, Kautia Madam Salai Royapet, Chennai, p.5.
148 Ibid., p. 6.
149 Ibid., p.7.

Mudaliar strongly opposed Caldwell's opinion on the point of vowels. He says that "தமிழ் எனும் சொல்லில் த்-ம்-ழ் மூன்றும் முறையே வல்லின, மெல்லின, இடையின மெய்கள் ஆகும்".[150]

A. Grierson says that Tamil is originated from Tamil language only. He says Tamil only became Dravidam, V.R.Ramachandra Dheetshiter in his work Prehistoric South India (Tl) formed a derivation against that of Caldwell. M.Varadharajan too agreed with him. M. Varadharajan says, as Dutch Damulia and Chinese Damirici is Aryan's Damilo, Dramila, Dramilam, Dravidam and Dravidam. The word Tamil was being used in Tamil literature from time immemorial. According to Grierson Ramachandra Dheetshitar and M. Varadharajan derivation is as follows.

தமிழ்	தமிள்
தமிள	த்ামிள
த்ரமிட	த்ரவிட
த்ராவிட	திராவிடம்[151]

Kesavarayar is also a strong supporter of Tamil origin for the word Tamil. It is not apt or acceptable to say that the Aryans named the language spoken by Tamils. It had been spoken by Tamils before the advent of Aryans. Then how is it possible that the Aryan's who came later named the former's language. So the principle that Dravida is the root word of Tamil, and gradually Dravida became Tamil could be discarded. Likewise the word Tamil became Dravidian also could not be accepted. This was formed out of hatred towards the first principle/derivation.[152] Dravida and Tamil are different words formed by different people.[153]

[150] Ibid., p.7.
[151] Ibid., p.7.
[152] Ibid., pp.7-8.
[153] Ibid., p.9.

Language is a wonderful weapon to convey/express the thoughts in our hearts to others. Language is a mirror, it reflects, what is in our heart. If there is no language there would be no development of human civilisation. People used different languages in different periods. Among them some developed in course of time and some died off. It's an astonishing fact that some languages are not died and on the contrary developing excellently till date. Tamil faired well among the excellent and ancient languages. If we patronize our language as our ancestors did, we will be able to protect it from disruption for the generation to come. We will be able to know the excellency of Tamil language through its literature and grammar. Literature and Grammar are the two eyes of Language. Even though we are able to see with one eye, it won't be perfect. So for entire visualization two eyes are essential. To handle language without grammar is equal to a life with out any code of conduct. Language minus grammar is equal to the Life minus code of Ethics.

Language – Grammar = Life – Ethics.

In our day to day life we need grammatical knowledge to speak, to write and to learn without mistakes.[154]

A.K. Ramanujan, the great translator of Tamil into English often referred to this as "Classical Tamil literature", and he was certainly correct. Sangam literature is the touchstone for all subsequent literature in Tamil and shaped the future of literature discourse in the language. Even more important, Sangam literature is one of the great literary treasures of the world. It's works provide a Tamil perspective on life and on

[154] Prof.V.Sankar, Iyal Tamil Ilakkanam, (Tl) R.Nanmozhi Printers, 41, Gangai St, Vasanth Nagar, Puducheri, 1st ed., August, 2004, p.1.

human experience that is quite different from anything found in Sanskrit, Latin, Greek or any other language.[155]

In Tamil also, a grammatical tradition arose that has been preserved in the Tolkappiyam, which like the work of Panini, prescribed the proper forms for the language and served to unify it. The Tolkappiam, which seems to contain sections dating from the beginning of Sangam times to the 3rd or 4th century, describes Tamil in purely indigenous terms, borrowing little from the traditions of the North. It sets a standard for the kind of Tamil to be used by educated people, much as Panini did for Sanskrit, and it has given written or classical Tamil an identity and shape that has changed little over the centuries. It is quite remarkable that an illiterate Tamil Villager can still understand many stanzas of the Tirukkural.[156] Comparative Studies of Indo-European Languages attained growth and maturity, but comparative studies of Dravidian Languages did not develop to that extent. The present status of Comparative Studies of Dravidian Languages is lagging behind as Romance Language. New research devices/techniques must be found out and regularize. M.B. Emeneau of America and T.Burrow of England showed much interest in this research. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary is the effect/result of the researches done on Dravidian Languages sofar.[157] When Caldwell published his Comparative Grammar, Comparative Studies in world Languages except Indo - European and Indian Languages except Dravidian Languages didn't begin. Bopp and Grimm scholars of Indo-European Languages belonged to the age of Caldwell. Four years before the publication of Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, Grammar on Slav and Celtic languages were

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[155] Dr.V.S.Kulandaisamy, Ulagacevvial Mozhihalin Varisaiyil Tamil (TL) Bharathi Printers, 126/108, Usman Road, T.Nagar, Chennai – 600 017, p.18.

[156] Ibid., p.19.

[157] T.P. Meenakshi Sundaram, Tamil Mozhi Varalaru (Tl) Sarvodaya Ilakkiapannai, 32/1 West Veli Veethi, Madurai – 625 001, pp.17-18.

published. The year in which Caldwell published his work Schleicher's Grammatical work of Lithuanian Language was published. There were very few scholars of Comparative studies. In this juncture we cannot under estimate the glory of Caldwell's Comparative Grammar.[158] In that age, only Scarce sources of uncultivated Dravidian languages were available scarcely. It's not an astonishing fact that Caldwell didn't undertake a descriptive research on uncultivated languages. Owing to this fact, Caldwell's Comparative Grammar may be called as the Comparative Study of the Southern Dravidian Languages inclusive of Telugu.[159] Tamil is an ancient and Cultured Cemmoli rich in grammar and literature. Such a language is the mother tongue of Tamilians. Caldwell appreciated the excellency of Tamil Civilisation and Compared it with that of Greeks. Tamil people had cultural and Commercial Contact with various countries. They freely contribute to their culture and language. Like wise they adopted many things from them. They were broad minded and knowledge thirsty people/had a thirst for knowledge. Malayalam had close contact with Tamil, Malayalam is being spoken by the people of Chera Nad. Thousand year's back people of this region spoke Tamil. Pathirtupattu and Silapadikaram serve as the sources to know that. At the initial stage of Malayalam literature much dominance of Tamil could be seen.[160] Dr.Herman Gundert wrote grammar and dictionary for Malayalam. He did not agree with the fact that Tamil was the mother of Malayalam. Further he says that Tamil and Malayalam are the offshoots of Koduntamil. A.R.Rajarajavarmar was the author of Kerala Paniniyam. He refused the ideology of Caldwell, that Malayalam born from Tamil/Tamil gave birth to Malayalam.[161] Dr.Gundert accepted the fact that ancient Malayalam literature followed Tamil more than Sanskrit. Dr.K.M. George too accepted

[158] Ibid., p.20.
[159] Ibid, p.20.
[160] G. John Samuel, Dravida Mozhihalin Oppaivu Tl), Ulaga Thamizh Araichi Niruvanam, Adayaru, Chennai – 600 020. p.32.
[161] Ibid., p.33.

the same. So it is apt to accept the principle of Caldwell that Malayalam is the dialect of Tamil.[162]

There are various theories about Tamil and Tamilians. Human beings first came into existence in the Landscape called Lemuria. Because of great deluge it was submerged and the people lived there scattered allover the world. We are therefore forced to acknowledge that the Dravidians of India, after a long period of development in this country travelled westwards, and settling successfully in the various lands, They found their way from Mesopotamia upto the British Isles spread their race - afterwards named Mediterranean owing to the place where they were known anthropologically - through the west and made their civilization flourish in two continents, being thus the originators of the modern world civilization.[163] Another view coincides with the earlier mentioned is as follows, Considering the fact that we have scarcely any trace of volcanic eruptions or earth - tremors as they frequently occur in North India, it may said that South India was the part of the world to settle first as a land mass. It is probable that the original man might have come into existence first in South India.[164] It is regarded as certain that Dravidian Speakers were at one time spread over the whole of Northern India as well, Baluchistan to Bengal.[165] The early history of India is still very obscure Some where perhaps about 2000 B.C, an Aryan speaking people came down from the north west into India, either in one invasion or in a series of invasions, and was able to spread its language and traditions over most of North India. It's peculiar variety of Aryan speech was the Sanskrit. They found a brunet people with a more elaborate civilization and less vigour of will in possession of the country of the Indus

[162] Ibid., p.34.
[163] Rev.H.Heras, Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture, p.21.
[164] V.R.R. Dikshitar, Pre-Historic South India, p.234.
[165] S.K.Chatterji, The origin and development of the Bengali Language, I, p.28.

and Ganges.[166] Sanskrit speaking Aryans entered India and they driven away the Tamilians and Turanians from Hindustan.[167] Yet another view is that Tamilians lived in Lemuria entered India after it submerged. All the Tamilians speak Tamil. When they settled in various places, the language also started to change little by little. One language was started to speak differently. Thus came offshoots such as Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu. Sheshakiri in his work "Andhra Sabta thathuvdam says that the Mother of Telugu is Tamil.[168] Suriya Narayana Sastriar confirmed the theory of Caldwell by saying that Telugu, Malayalam, Kannadam and Tulu were the offshoots of Tamil.[169] The Malayalam language is like modern Tamil, an offshoot of old Tamil. Alongside forms and words borrowed from Sanskrit, it uses words and conventions from old Tamil. The fact is many Indian literatures have been influenced directly or indirectly by the Tamil tradition. Even Tulsis Ramancaritmanas owes much to the influence of the Alwars.[170]

In India more or less 10 crs of people speak Dravidian Languages. Baluchistan is situated outside India inhibited by the people who speak Brahui. Out of the population of India 28% of the people speak Dravidian Languages. Most of the South Indians speak Dravidian Languages. Tamil speaking people live beyond the boundaries of India. As we see earlier they live in Ceylon, Malaysia, Singapore, South Africa, and Fiji Islands. Except Brahui the people speak other Dravidian language live in the Southern region of India and Northern part of Ceylon continuously. People who speak Tamil, Malayalam, Kannadam and Telugu, which has a history live along the Coastal areas and interior lands. Likewise people speaking uncultivated Dravidian languages

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[166] H.G.wells, A Short History of the world Ch. XXVIII.
[167] Ibid., p.9.
[168] V.Suriyanarayanan Sastriar, G.A.Natesan & Co, 1903, pp.6-7.
[169] Ibid., p.12.
[170] V.S. Kulanthaisamy, Op.cit., p.20.

live in plateau land in between North India and Deccan and on high lands such as mountains. It's an astonishing fact that those who speak uncultivated Languages live on Mountains.[171]

Dravidians are minorities where all they live. Because of the fact that they could not voice their privileges in the arena of the world. Because of this fact that Dravidian studies are not given much concentration. Dravidian Languages which lack flourishing literature are not yet studied. Burrow says that these type of languages might be in Central India. Uncultivated languages of Central India are disappearing / ruining because of the competition of the cultivated languages in the surrounding areas i.e., Telugu, Marati, Hindi etc.,[172] The universities of South India, Ceylon and Malaya are giving importance to Dravidian Linguistics, Investigation on Dravidian Linguistics are being done in England, France and Cegocoslavahia. Soviet Russia and Germany are also concentrating in this research. Some of the American universities too started this research.[173]

Some times the phrase South India signifies only Tamil Nadu. It is also used to denote Central India where Dravidian Language is being spoken, and also the southern region beyond that In broader/wider sense it denotes the whole region lies South of Vindhyas - Rr.Narmadah. Dravidanadu lies in between Vindhyas and Kanyakumari excluding the Indo-European language speaking region such as Oriya, Marati and Gujarathi.[174]

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[171] T.P.Meenakshi Sundaram Op.cit., p.24-26.
[172] Prof.A.Velu Pillai, Op.cit., p.3-4.
[173] Ibid., p.4.
[174] Ibid., p. 4.

The word 'Dravida' from which the term 'Dravidian' has been formed, though sometimes used in a restricted sense, as equivalent to Tamil, is better fitted, notwithstanding, for use as a generic term in as much as it not only has the advantage of being more remote from ordinary usage, and some what more vague, but has also the further and special advantage of having already been occasionally used by native philologists in a generic sense. By the adoption of this term 'Dravidian', the word 'Tamilian' has been felt free to signify that which is distinctively Tamil.[175] Pavanar explored some truths about Tamils. According to him the sources about the history of Tamils are not yet collected fully. The deep sea investigation about the submerged Kumari is in its initial stage. Russian scholars did little investigation in Indian Ocean with modern equipments. They revealed some truths. But the entire truth lies under the sea still Likewise another established truth is that Indus Civilisation is the Civilisation of Tamils. But the archaeological discoveries in Indus region and in South India is not yet done fully. By the here and there discoveries the whole truth is not yet revealed. Many Ancient literary evidences too were destroyed. The remnants give us only little evidences. Sources about the commercial religious and political contacts with Egypt. Greece, Rome, China, Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, Malasia, Singapore, and Indonesia have to be collected yet.[176]

According to V.R.R. Dikshtar a) Europeans including English people and other races are the generations of ancient Tamils, b) Ancient civilization flourished at Mohenjadaro was the source of the development of Egyptian, Babylonian, Phoenscian and Greek Civilisations of Mediterranean region. Yet another theory is man originated first in the Mediterranian region and language originated from them. Some scholars dared to say that some people entered India through Eastern and North Western passes.

[175] Caldwell, Op.cit., Introduction, p.7.
[176] Devaneya Pavanar, Op.cit., p.xxiv.

Before that Indian tribals were living there and that tribals were Dravidians Ellis, Caldwell, L.V.Ramasamy Iyer, Yules Block, Eimeanue, Burrow and Pattachariar were scholars of Dravidian Linguists. They found the root form of Dravidian Languages based on the relation between phonetics of these language.[177]

Yet another view is expressed by K.A.P. Viswanatham. He says that the author of Agathiam was Agathiar. He only formed Tamil. Some say that he was a Sanskrit scholar. But it was not accepted by good scholars. But we have to say that Tamil lives for ever Agathiar's fame lies on the fact that he learnt and taught that Language viz Tamil. This is proved by Kambar's verse "என்றும் உள தென்தமிழ் இயம்பி இசை கொண்டான்."[178]

Sanskrit scholars such as Cole Brooke, Carey and Wilkins thought that Dravidian languages originated from Sanskrit. It is because of the Sanskrit words and few grammatical structure found in Dravidian Languages. But Caldwell says that these scholars do not know about Dravidian languages. So they had this wrong notion.[179] It is true that Dravidian Languages have some Sanskrit words, languages but to a large extent they vary in structure, basic vocabulary and grammatical formation. Some Dravidian languages may not function as a pure Dravidian language, if they set aside the influence of Sanskrit. Still then they are Dravidian. When many family of languages mingle, one language may get loan words from the other. But they will be considered as different family of languages.[180]

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[177] Dr.Shanmuga Selva Ganapathi, Op.cit., p.12.
[178] K.A.P. Viswanatham, Op.cit., p. 30.
[179] Caldwell Op.cit., p.42.
[180] Ibid., p.35.

Man excelled among living beings, because of language only. Reasoning power/capacity is the monopoly of human beings. It is glaring through language. Language is a unique power. People preserve their language as their lives, even more than life. Tamil is the oldest among the languages in the world. It is sweeter than milk, says Western Scholars. Description, method and limitation to literature are formed by grammar. Tamil language produced such grammar even before four thousand years. This shows Tamil's antiquity.[181]

The nineteenth Century, a period of growing pan - Indian as well as regional nationalism, was also the era when “antiquarian” studies came into prominence and flourished. Numerous works of Tamil literary history, dealing with the culture of the ancient Tamils, emerged in this period. They were produced by scholars from entirely different mileus and with varying perspectives which one can only broadly, and with caution, categorise as “traditionalist” and “modern” keeping in mind the vast and complex interaction between the two scholars of Tamil literature produced descriptions of the ancient and most authentic Tamil race, its language and religion.[182]

The introduction of Caldwell’s Comparative Grammar took to task Orientalists like Wilson and Max Muller who had attested to the "Aryan" origin of much of the subcontinental peoples, based upon the linguistic correspondences between Sanskrit and the Germanic languages. Caldwell pointed out that, by the same logic it was possible to deduce that the peoples of peninsular India, speaking as they did an entirely different group of languages from the Indo-European ones, were racially as a group, of

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[181] Prof. Dr.Muthu-Kannappar, Thamizhi Thavarukalai Thavirppom (Tl) Vanathi Publication, 13 Dheena Dayalu St., T.Nagar, Chennai – 600 017, 4th ed., December 2002, p. 9.

[182] Antiquity and sacred Writing: Tamil Literary Histories in the late 19th – early 20th centuries Srilata Muller, Corrected version of a paper presented at the 15th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, Prague, August 1998.

non-Aryan origin.[183] He suggested that the same "Dravidian" may be applied to these languages and, by extension the people.

Caldwell further argued that of these languages Tamil was both oldest and the least dependent upon Sanskrit.[184] "But even while granting the antiquity of the language, he dismissed the antiquity of Tamil literature. The oldest of it could not be older than the 8th, 9th Century A.D. Jaina literature, of which the Kural was probably the oldest Tamil work in existence.[185] Caldwell further questioned ancient Tamil Society's exposure to the higher forms of civilization, such as art, science or religion, prior to the arrival of Brahmins.[186] Dravidian religion for instance, prior to their advent, had been a sort of demonolatry or primitive Shamanism. Nevertheless, he concluded, even while civilization came with the Brahmins, the beneficial effects of this had been more than counter - balanced by the fossilizing caste system.[187] In his Comparative Grammar Caldwell had already provided linguistic evidence to suggest that the Tamils had been free of both caste and idolatry before the Aryan immigrants, the Brahmins, arrived in their land. One assumption to follow from this was that caste and idolatry were essentially "alien" to the Tamil Culture.[188] Caldwell while investigating the word Tamil equivates Tamil with Dravidam a Sanskrit word. Thou there is difference in phonetics, basically they are one. The word Dravidam changes gradually into Tamil. But various scholars denies his derivation. Since the age of Tolkappier different special terms were being used to denote Tamil.

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[183] Comparative Grammar, p.1-2.
[184] Ibid., p.31.
[185] Ibid., p.85.
[186] Ibid., p.77.
[187] Ibid., pp.78-79.
[188] Srilatha Muller Op.cit.

Ex.	தமிழென் கிளவி	-	தொல்
	தமிழ் கூறு நல்லுலகம்	-	தொல்-பாயிரம்
	தமிழ் தலை மயங்கிய	-	புறம்
	தமிழ் கெழு கூடல்	-	புறம்

It is not apt/suitable to say that Tamilians did not name their language in Tamil and made another language's word to name their language. Caldwell too pointed out that his ideology was denied by other scholars.

Europeans called this language as Tamulic and Malabar. In 1766, King Louis the 14th gave a title to a Tamilian (a relative of Anandarangam Pillai) i.e.' Malabar Thalaivan' means Tamilar Thalaivan. Colebrook too confirms the fact that Europeans called Tamil as Malabar.[189] Indus Civilisation was an ancient civilization. The people belonged to that civilization was Tamilians. Many historians say that the language and script used by the Indus people was Tamil. Fr.Heras says that the people of Mohenjodaro spoke one of the Dravidian languages. Many words used in that language belonged to Tamil. Further he says that the ancient Sumerian language was formed and developed after Tamil Language. Rice Davis says Sanskrit, Hebrew and Greek are accepted as classic Languages. In the ancient days itself many Tamil words mingled with the former and greatly helped for its growth. Even during the Rig Vedic age itself many more Tamil words made entry into Sanskrit. Apart from that, language and its children languages (offshoots) accepted many features of Tamil languages sound and grammar.[190]

[189] G. John Samuel, Op.cit., p. 31.
[190] Dr.P. Suembu op.cit., p.10.

Fore runners and successors of Caldwell :

It is of interest to note that the period before Caldwell had occasional instances of pioneer work in grammar, Baltazar Da Costa in 1680 is believed to have written a grammar. Later came Ziegenbalg's "Grammatica Damulica." Beschi then appears on the scene. C. Przikryl S.J. is also believed to have written a work on Tamil grammar. But this belonged to the 18th century[*]. "Rudiments of Tamil Grammar combining with the rules of Kodun Tamil . . . . The Elegant Dialect of Language" was written by Robert Anderson belonged to the first quarter of the 19th century. Rhenius wrote a Tamil Grammar called "A Grammar of the Tamil Language with an Appendix[*]. Caldwell created an awakening of the critical study of the Comparative Grammar of World Languages. Caldwell published his comparative grammar at London in 1856. A revised edition with new studies and light modifications came out in 1875, after the Great revolt of 1857, India came under the direct rule of the queen of England as per the Queens proclamation of 1858. Education, particularly English education received royal support and Educational institutions like Lawrence College, the Presidency Colleges and University sprang up in 1857-58. Subjects such as western science and technology, medicine, English language and literature, political thought and philosophy received great impetus. Tamil studies language and literature came under the attention of the civil servants, educants philanthropists, administrators, who had to learn Tamil, (local languages) only to discharge their function. When they started learning Tamil, Telugu or Kannada in the college fort St .George, they became aware of their linguistic and literary traditions: their mere learning of the local tongue changed into intensive study with the application of western scientific methods of literary criticism and

[*] K. Meenakshi Sundaram, (Op.cit.,) p. 168.
[*] Ibid.,

scientific linguistic approach. They taught Tamil through English, thus making English as the lingua franca (language of communication). Their syllabus in higher education contained some parts of local languages, history and thought the natives were also forced to learn English and seek employment under the raj. Infact, since English took over the possession of local languages, it was not compulsory for the Europeans to make use of the vernaculars in their transactions either educational or commercial or diplomatic or religious. Tamil language went into the shades of schools and few colleges. The teachers who were teaching Tamil in schools and colleges were the low paid ones, so that learning Tamil was systematically avoided.

When Caldwell reached India, i.e. Tamil Nadu, he saw the teaching – learning process in Tamil so weak and unsystematic and unproductive. Nations turned attention in learning English language only to please the administrators. The Brahmins and few upper caste Hindus were the great beneficiaries of English educator. Nee Kandasamy Pillai says that during the twenty years from 1856 to 1876, the services of the foreigners for the propagation. Tamil was also vaning[191].

However, the services of two European missionaries stood apart during this period of time. Rev. J. Knight and Rev. L. Spaulding, two missionaries in Srilanka had already collected materials for bringing out a Dictionary (Akarathi) which Rev. M. Winslow brought to Chennai and in July 1862 published after taking great pains a Tamil-English Dictionary.[192] It was called the famous Winslow Dictionary. It was doing the purpose of what the Webster Dictionary in America was doing. The remarks of Winslow about Tamil attracted the attention of its readers and in his work Rev. P. Percival assisted him for some time. At madras, Ramanuja Kavirayar,

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[191] Nee Kandasamy Pillai, Op. cit., p.120.
[192] Ibid., p.120.

Vishakhap Perumal Iyer and Veerasami Chettiar contributed their services in this project. Nee Kandasamy Pillai says, if it is published to satisfy the needs of the time, it may service the great purpose of the people.[193]

Another great work was Dr. A. C. Burnell's *Elements of south* Indian Palaeography. Though it was written in the 1860s, it was published in 1878 only. It speaks about the scriptal form of Tamil language in accordance with the changes, century vise, i.e. how Tamil language was written over the centuries. In the introduction, Dr. A. C. Burnell has traced the antiquity and popularity of the Tamils, Tamil language, its country and their culture. His studies about the *Aindra* grammar was a path-breaking study then, where he has made an earnest attempt to establish the two schools: the Aindra School and the Panini School, and made some observations about *Agathiyam*.

He is of the opinion that the North Indians borrowed the South Indian words, thoughts, names and place names and transformed them or adapted them or adopted them to suit their Sanskrit language. For instance, he says that Sanskrit contains the literary grammar of temple construction and actual temples are in South India but not in North India. The South has the literature where as the North has grammar. He in collaboration with Sir. H. Yule collected, edited and published it under the title *Hobson Jobson* in 1886. It has of late become a part of linguistic study in fact, these scholars have contributed their wisdom to the enrichment of Tamil language and literature before and after Caldwell's uninimitable work. Dr. R.P. Sethu Pillai, though a great admirer of Caldwell and his works, wants his (Caldwell's) theory, on the History of Literature to be omitted. He has to be judged on the basis of his other works. The fault

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[193] Ibid., p.120.

lay not in Caldwell but in his era when books and works were difficult to obtain.[*] In his work K. Meenakshi Sundaram quoted the following, "Caldwell in his work affiliates Tamil with the Scythian group and not with the Indo-European group of languages. But it is obvious that whenever such an affiliation is noted, he is not very determined about it. One cannot wholly accept this theory that Tamil belongs to the Scythian group; later research has to prove this beyond doubt and until that time one cannot accept definitely Caldwell's theory.[*]

Gover a contemporary of Caldwell undertook a comparative study of Dravidian literature. Though he had not made a deep analytical and grammatical study of Comparative Dravidian Grammar, he refuted Caldwell and says that Tamil belongs to an Indo-European family of languages. Caldwell expressed his disagreement over the comment, unfortunately Gover died at that time. Caldwell bemoaned his loss thus "a great loss in many respects to Southern India." If he had survived a little longer he would have taken pains to prove and establish his hypothesis or he might have changed his opinion[194].

Caldwell pinpointed the salient features of Gover's book and said that it may be 'characterised as one of the most interesting contributions to the knowledge of the people of Southern India, that have yet appeared. At the same time Caldwell had not missed saying "that the defects of the book are the shadow of its most conspicuous merits[195]. This shows Caldwell's innate character of his sense of appreciation as well as critical mind.

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[*] K. Meenashi Sundaram, Op.cit., p. 140.
[*] Ibid.,
[194] K. Meenakshi Sundaram, Op.cit., p. 158.
[195] Ibid., pp. 158-159.

Caldwell on the classicism of Tamil:

The Dravidian languages differed from North Indian languages in many features. Even then Sanskrit Pandits considered that the Dravidian languages have originated from the North Indian languages, as the North Indian languages. These Pandits were of the habit of tracing everything to the Brahmin origin. Their views were accepted as toto by the early European intellectuals. Such intellectuals who were attracted to every Dravidian language could not fail to notice the presence of some Sanskrit words in them. Of which some were very difficult for understanding from which they originated, for they were very much damaged. Even then atleast some of them though mutilated may remain original. They could clearly see that each and every one of these languages has innumerable words and terminal forms which are different from Sanskrit even then these words alone originate a large part of the languages; but they would not have understood that heart beat of these languages rest in these words. If they could not trace the origin of these words, they would simply satisfy themselves by saying that these were of other origin or a mixture of some other languages. In reality, Sanskrit mutilations could be discerned from languages like Bengali of the Koleria family as well some which are not anyway related to Sanskrit. According to these Pandits, there are no typical difference between the Dravidian languages and the Kolerian family: Those features which are not *within* Sanskrit are considered by them as a mixture and keep them out of purview. This act is running away from the truth. Even though the view that Tamil was born from Sanskrit was acceptable to the early generation of scholars, at present it has become an unfounded myth (legends).

These scholars were those who have deeply learnt Sanskrit, but they have fully understood the Dravidian languages or could have learnt a little. Those who have not understood the principles of Dravidian languages have to learn them and compare them using the principles of literary criticism, could well understand the words and meanings of these languages and they do not have the right to declare that these are from Sanskrit origin.♦

"சமக்கிருதத் துணை வேண்டாத்
திராவிடத் தனித்தன்மை"
in World Tamil Classical Conference, Special Volume, Kovai, June, 2010, p.34.

Conclusion:

Sofar we have discussed the origin and content of the Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Linguistics written by Caldwell. While Beschi failed to attain high level language, Caldwell and G.U. Pope had attained that Even Buddha taught the truth in Pali or people's language. Language is a vehicle of communication. By learning the language of the people they establish a connection between them and the people. Caldwell's comparative Grammar serves as a cause for the growth of T.P. Meenakshi Sundaram Pillai, V.I. Subramaniam, Agathiar on international level. A traditional language showed to the world by Caldwell. It was by the time of Caldwell's advent of India, the Indologists trained by the experts of the Royal Asiatic Society came out openly with the Aryan relations of the Sanskrit language and announced it as an Indo-European language and tried to trace its connections with Europe. But Caldwell influenced by the richness and antiquity of the Dravidian languages, particularly of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, chose to bring out the richness and antiquity

♦ Caldwell, "The Non-support of Sanskrit: The Individuality of Dravidian

of the Dravidian languages and made it known to the world. His Comparative Grammar is a classic even now. A grammatical study of Tamil can never be divorced from Caldwell's Book, such is the merit of his outstanding contribution.[*] This study of Caldwell not only placed the Dravidian languages on high pedestal, but brought to him everlasting name and fame.

> "A winner is some one who sets his goal,
> Commits himself to those goals and
> Then pursues them with
> All the ability he has".

Caldwell is a winner of the world of linguistics philology. He set his goal/ resolution during his college days at Glasgow. He says that he formed a resolution that if he ever found himself amongst strange races speaking strange languages, he should endeavour so to study those languages as to qualify himself to write something about them that should be useful to the world. He committed himself to those goals, and then pursued them with all the ability he had. As a result the Dravidian World indebted a lot to him for his magnum opus Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages. Comparative Grammar powerfully portrays the history of Tamilians. By his work Caldwell opened new vistas to explore all avenues of grammar. He is being known in every corner of the world today by his magnum pous. He gave fresh life to grammar by writing Comparative Grammar. His work is the peak of literary, glory. His successors will follow the letter and spirit of the treatise. For he pointed us to several interesting measures that we otherwise might have missed. His writings about Tamilians mobilized support from Tamilians living all over the world. His grammatical work is being an

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[*] K. Meenakshi Sundaram, Op.cit., p. 220.

investment in knowledge always pays the best interest. He dedicated himself for the benefit of the society, through sharpening his professional skills. He boldly put to good use the opportunities opened to him.

CHAPTER - IV

CALDWELL AS A HISTORIAN

History

The English word 'History' finds its root in the Greek word 'historia'. In Latin also it is the same ('historia'). It means inquiry or information or narrative history. The French word 'historein' is to inquire into or 'examine' or 'relate'[1]. The word historia is a derivative of the verb 'historein' which means 'to inquire into' or 'to examine' or 'to relate'. By the end of the fifteenth century the term took on the more formal sense of a 'chronological record of significant events often with an explanation of their causes'. The French word 'estorie' was borrowed from the Latin word 'historia', which was used for a 'record of the events in a person's life' and then for a 'record of the events relating to a people or to mankind in general'[2]. The German word 'Geschichte' means the explanation of the past. Caritra in Sanskrit and the little corrupt form Caritai in Tamil means biography' or a 'Chronological narrative of events. The typical Tamil word *Varalaru* means the 'joining of many rivers together' (literally). it is therefore the integration or synthesis of many peoples biographies. This art of writing Edward Thompson calls 'Historians History'[3]. Each language has its own word to refer to history, but they all have the same purpose viz. the story of the past. When we speak about the art of writing the history of the people of a country, the first need is a historical sense of the past, which, historians from the days of Alberuni to James Mill or Robert Caldwell Complain that Indians 'lack that sense' or 'lack a clear

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[1] Websters Word Histories, a Merriam Webster, Merriam Webster Inc. Publishers, Massachusetts, 1989, p. 219.
[2] Ibid., p. 324.
[3] K. Sadasivan is of the view that the early works contain a lot of historical events. But some scholars dismiss them as mere facts and figures and not history proper.

understanding of it' or when asked about it, 'they begin tale telling'[4]. But, infact, ancient Indians would not have written works on their past; but they had a sense of history. That was why the ancient Tamils left their literary pieces and inscriptions full of historical events, personalities, ideas and aspirations. However it is to be accepted that the word history originated first in Greece only.

Historians differ in their view about history. As the saying goes 'God is one, but different sages describe him differently. To cite few illustrations here :

i) E.H. Carr, defines history as 'a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past'[5] This view of E.H. Carr held the ground from about the 1970's in India. Even today it remains a classic definition. History means a systematic scrutiny of the part in terms of exploration and explanation and historiography an ideology(which diffuses and promotes certain ideas and values[6]). Systematically with the past; a recording, analyzing, co-ordinating and explaining of past events. Historiography is the study of the art or science of writing history. It is simply the study of the method of writing history.

When Lord Action was planning *The Cambridge Modern History* in 1896, he wrote of the venture. It is a unique opportunity of recording, in the way most useful to the greatest number, the fullness of the knowledge which the nineteenth century is about to bequeath . . . ultimate history we cannot have in this generation; but we can dispose of conventional history and show the point we have reached on the road from one to the other, now that all information is within reach, and every problem has

[4] C.H. Philips, (ed), History and Historians of India and Pakistan.
[5] E.H. Carr, What is History?, Cambridge, 1961, p. 30.
[6] I.D. Gaur, Essays in History and Historiography, India's Struggle for Freedom, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, p.1.

become capable of solution[7]. Whatever may be the varieties of definitions now available, one cannot overlook the sweet but meaningful definition of Francis Bacon that: "All histories make men wise". According to Lord Bolingbroke, history has the potence to make a man genius'. Caldwell states that, the original meaning of the word "history" is investigation[8].

Historiography

History is the critical inquiry into the past. Whereas Historiography is the study of how history came to be written over the ages. In the twentieth and twenty first centuries, historians have begun to change the method of study and writing of history according to the changed scenario. In the earlier period, monarchy was highlighted in the history writing but in the democratic set up emphasis is being given to the commoner, i.e. it has become people centered. Secondly, in the earlier periods, political history was given importance, where as now history is seen not only with political background but also in other aspects such as economic, social, religious and cultural and so a wholistic and objective type of history is encouraged. Thirdly, earlier histories / writings were macro level studies whereas now the emphasis is on micro-level history[9]. K.A. Neelakanta Sastri defined history as the "entire record of men living in societies in their geographical and physical environment"[10]. He considers as a means of understanding the present to plan for the future. This link a historian alone can provide. History always challenges us and makes us fit to do our duty at present. We are all making history whether we like it or not. A historical work will challenge all who reads

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[7] E.H. Carr, Op.cit., pp. I-145.
[8] Bishop R. Caldwell, History of Tinnevelly, Op.cit., p.1.
[9] Rev. D. Arthur Jeyakumar, Historiography and Bishop Robert Caldwell's Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of the SPCK and SPG, pp. 1-2.
[10] Presidential Address, Proceedings and Transaction of the All India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1941, p.62.

that to make a good history of the present and make it a sound foundation for the future[11]. Marcbloch, the French Annales historian, calls historiography as the "Historians Craft." This can alone reveal the original thinking of a historian and his imaginative faculty.

Francis Bacon says, "Some books are to be read; some to be tasted; some are to be chewed and digested". History has to be made, written, read, tasted, chewed and digested. Fortunately, history is not made or unmade by individuals. Since every profession is an art, with dedication and hard work anyone can excel.

Historical knowledge or sense of the Indians – Tamils by the time of the advent of Caldwell and Caldwell's views on Indian sense of History :

Al Baruni, the Arabian traveller of the 11th century A.D. writes : 'The Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things. They are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling[12]. Tales of past events orally transmitted and were retained is memory instead of preserving them in writing[13]. Moreover, in India history became a part of religious literature, incorporating many religious legends and anecdotes. This religious content was a bar to the proper development of objectivity in the craft of history writings[14].

In Tamil Nadu What is conspicuous is the want of adequate interest in historical studies Al Baruni and Fleet commented on the abs3ence of historical sense in India of

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[11] D.S. George Muller, The Birth of a Bishopric, 1992, Foreword.
[12] The Tamil Varalatru Kazhagam, 'Thirty Pallava Copper Plates (Prior to 1000 A.D.), P. Sri and T.N. Subramanian (ed.), Swadesamitran Press, Madras, 1966, p. i.
[13] Bratindranath Mukhopadyay, *Ithihasa : Ekti Pracina Bharatiya Cetna,* Calcutta, 1967, p. 29.
[14] Ibid., p. 30.

early times, but this phenomenon survives in the land of the Tamils even today[15]. There are scholars who suggest that the early Indians lacked correct perspectives and appreciation of the true ideas and methods of history[16], which has been refuted by R.C. Majumdar[17]. It is a fact that our ancestors had plenty of historical sense which they expressed with religious bias in their own way. Generally speaking, they considered the religious and cultural side of social life as of primary importance. They have left us historical information in traditions including the Puranas (the 'tale-telling' of AlBaruni) and in literature and the like, as well as in the inscriptions which are our main sources to-day for reconstructing our past history[18].

Pragiter has edited critically, 'the Purana text of the dynasties of the Kali age' covering the history of the period from the 4th century B.C to the 4th century. A.D. There were historical works like Rajatarangini dealing with the early history of Kashmir. Even in the south a large mass of historical materials local histories etc. was available, dealing with Tanjavur, Madurai and other places. There were histories of individual kings also like those of the Nayak rulers of Tanjavur written in the 'Kavya' fashion. Such works as are not now available have their names preserved incidentally in inscriptions. There are also histories of temples still available like to 'Koil-Olugu' dealing with Srirangam and 'Tirumalai – Olugu dealing with Tirupathi. In some mutts we find Pattavalis or succession – lists of pontiffs[19].

There is a Sanskrit Kavya called the 'Madura Vijayam' by a princess of Vijayanagar to free the Tamil country from the Muslim occupation in the middle of the

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15 K. Rajayyan, Early Tamil Nadu History, Society and Culture, Rajah Press, Kottaram, 1993, Preface.
16 S.K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1947, Vol. I, p. 347, N. Subramanian Historiography, Madurai, 1973, p. 327.
17 C.H. Philips, Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, London, 1961, p. 25.
18 P. Sri. (General ed.), T.N. Subramanian (Special ed.) Thirty Pallava Copperplates, (Prior to 1000 A.D) (Tl), The Tamil Varalatru Kazhaha Publication, Swadesamitran Press, Madras, 1st Ed., 1966, p. ii.
19 Ibid.,

14th Century A.D. There were also war-poems in Tamil like களவழி and கலிங்கத்துப்பரணி and other minor poems like உலா, கோவை, பிள்ளைத்தமிழ் and கலம்பகம் dealing with kings in the conventional manner and indicating historical events as passing references. These and similar works as well as the available Cronicles collected by Col. Mackenzie deserve careful and critical study. The available ballads and other forms of mass-literature like அம்மானை, கும்மி etc. may also be utilized, for studying our past history. Some introductions and colophons of Tamil literary works may also give us useful information about their royal patrons. The Pallavas and other monarchs had Vamsavalis or lists of their lineal succession.[20]

Caldwell's views of Indian sense of History

One of the many subjects that fascinated Caldwell was South Indian history. As a historian, he shared the common view on 19th Century British historians of India, that the people of India lacked a sense of history, since they did not appear to have kept an accurate record of part events.[21] Caldwell expressed his anguish over the dearth of historical sense among Hindus. In his view, while the people of India took an interest in almost every other branch of knowledge – philosophy, poetry, law, mathematics, architecture, music and drama – they' never gave an importance to history. To him "history" is investigation and the Hindus never appear to have cared to investigate[22]. Caldwell believed that 'dreamy philosophies' had spiritually dominated India to the extent that – 'history virtually an unknown department of literature[23]. Caldwell's focus was on the available facts in India. He was aware of the paucity of sources of history in most of the districts of India and the lack of historical sense among Hindus. Epic

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[20] Ibid

[21] Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, Robert Caldwell : A Scholar – Missionary in Colonial South India, Publishers, Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (ISPCK), Delhi, 2007, p. 155.

[22] Bishop R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 1.

[23] Ibid.,

poems, Puranas and other literature also, he believed are not free from imagination[24]. Critical of this lack of historical consciousness, he wrote on another occasion . . . but in India proper not a single narrative that can properly be called history has ever been written by Hindus. History has always been discouraged in India by the prevalence amongst the people of idealistic philosophies and their preference of poetical embellishment to truth[25].

Convocation Address of Caldwell at the University of Madras in 1879

Caldwell's Convocation Address to the graduates of Madras University in 1879, was framed in such a way to assist the natives to relinquish their defective attitudes towards history. In his view, unless and otherwise the educated Natives undertake a systematic study of history, ancient literature and archaeology of the country, it will never attain perfection or realize results of national importance. Caldwell believed that ancient Indian history could be spelled out / constructed from inscriptions and coins[26]. Taking advantage of the conveniences available to the Natives, he appealed to the graduates to examine available inscriptions on the outer walls and interiors of temples and copper plates in the possession of respective Native families (forbidden to the Europeans) In addition, he exhorted them to follow the precedence of the Learned Natives of Calcutta and Bombay in this regard. He says that avenues are opened for every Hindu for archaeological works and to do search for vernacular works (Tamil Literature). A careful search made by educated natives in houses and mathas would be rewarded by some valuable discoveries[27]. He advised them to cultivate these values. Caldwell was led to make such a statement since prior to him, certain European

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24 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
25 R. Caldwell, Christianity and Hinduism : A Lecture Addressed to Educated Hindus, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1874, pp. 19-20.
26 Ibid., p. 2.
27 Ibid., pp. 2-3.

scholars began the task of gathering inscriptions and manuscripts and they also registered the difficulties met with during such an endeavour.[28]

While appealing to the natives, he stressed accuracy and certainty of facts[29].

Robert Caldwell

The learned editors of the District Gazateers and Manual originally happened to be British Civilian Officers who took the help of local scholars and did a piece of magnificent work in respect of each district. The major purpose of these works was to know the geography, people, their language, their religion, their culture and ways of life etc. only to make the governance easy for the governors (officials). But Caldwell though not a civilian did pioneering work in writing the history of Tinnevelly District.

Caldwell was not a historian in the strictest sense of the term. Though not a professional historian, his interest in knowing the history and culture of the people and recording them for the sake of the posterity is unquestionable. A learned person, a multi-linguist, it is natural for Caldwell to write the history of the local place, where he had raised his centre of service. The British officials, geologists, historians made some reflections from Caldwell.

Caldwell was a man of wide and varied knowledge, a dedicated scholar and researcher, and a historian of high reputation. Historical writings in India started in the eighteenth century, as a result of the establishment of the East India Company. The Englishmen who conquered India were interested in knowing the laws, habits and history of the people of India, where they had to discharge their duties. The Christian Missionaries were also interested in India, although for a different purpose. They had

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[28] K. Meenakshi Sundaram, Op.cit., p. 144.
[29] Ibid., p. 2.

no sympathy for Hinduism which, in their view, was at "best work of human folly and at worst the outcome of a diabolic inspiration." According to Charles the people of India lived in a degenerate condition because Hinduism was the source of dishonesty, purgery, selfishness, social divisions, sexual vices etc. The Christians saw no future for the people of India unless they were converted to Christianity[30].

Caldwell was one of the most respected missionaries and provocative historian in South India. We must pause for a moment to think of the historical sense that prompted Caldwell to produce such a voluminous record of the past of this region. He created precedents that are worthy of emulation. He was the first among the social and political historians and first among literary men to write history. He highlighted the hoary past of the Tamil Country, and thus the people of Tamil Nadu owe him a debt of gratitude. Caldwell was an inquisitive teacher for he was always learning, and was full of matter to write history. He was always observing and jotting down information day by day[31]. He was a plain liver, a hard thinker and a great worker for God; and he carried on his life-work inspite, at times of poor health[32].

Idea of Local History Writing

Caldwell felt the absence of any history for the people of Tamil Nadu particularly of the people of Tinnevelly. The concept of local history had not become popular then. Caldwell then decided to fill-up the void that existed in the local history of Tamil Nadu. His main aim was to bring out a succinct account of the region, races, their occupations, language, religion, caste conflicts and communal problems and all other aspects of the Tinnevelly region. The result was his famous *History of Tinnevelly*

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[30] V.D. Mahajan, Ancient, India 13th ed. S. Chand & Company Ltd., Ram Nagar, New Delhi, p. 1.
[31] Rev. R.J. French Mauritius, "Bishop Caldwell – A Reminiscence" p. 2.
[32] Ibid., p.3.

(1881) which still serves as a model for historians dealing with local history. *History of Tinnevelly* is yet another feather in the cap of Caldwell. This book serves as a launching pad to the historians, and will develop confidence in meeting the challenges of historical writing. It has again proved that it is the pioneer and trend-setter in writing history especially local history. He was endowed with numerous avenues of writing.

Caldwell settled in Idaiyangudi after travelling widely picking up different languages and collecting varied information. When he got time, he sat to sift facts from fiction and weave history. He patiently perused the record and found out their utility and form. The book has been designed in such a way that writing history is made a pleasure and not a burden. His style is not bombastic but simple.

He heard the local Pandits tell the story of the country, some learned scholars referring to earlier works; he read some chronicles, manuals and collected material from field surveys and excavations as an amateur archaeologist out of interest, read and culled out necessary information from British official records and even from contemporary writers and read the palm leaf works and gathered information from interviews with men of age and wisdom.

His work on Tinnevelly was published by the Madras Government at their expense and is now unfortunately out of print. It's value can best be appreciated by those who have attempted to study in the same sphere; and the obligations under which Caldwell had laid the present writer cannot be sufficiently acknowledged[33]. Filled with missionary zeal and enthusiasm, Caldwell involved himself in evangelism in most part of everyday. Despite that, it is remarkable that he spent his leisure time in collection of materials regarding history, philosophy and culture. His idea of the history of

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[33] H.R. Pate, *Tirunelveli District Gazetteer,* 1916, republications, Tirunelveli, 1993, p. 397.

Tinnevelly was welcome to many historians, however, some diverse views too made their appearance. Some say that he relied on traditional stories and did not prove its verocity and authenticity. But beyond doubt, his work on Tinnevelly is really a treasure house of information touching legends, customs, beliefs, traditions. etc.

The Matter of Study

The book though professedly local in its scope, contains some information about each of the dynasties of Southern India. Caldwell had spoken of the Tamils as the most enterprising people, speaking a most cultivated language and advanced both socially and politically. This shows that he held the Tamils (Dravidians) in high esteem. He was of the firm belief that the Indian King who sent an embassy to the Court of Emperor Agustus of Rome was Pandian, the king and the traders of the Pandya Country carried on a brisk trade with foreign lands from Korkai[34]. Covering over 2000 years of history. It was recapitulated (the collected materials) very painstakingly objectively. His love for Tinnevelly is visible in every page[35].

Originally missionary Caldwell was not a historian. He was neither a scholar of philosophy nor history. But after coming to India, his eventful journey from Madras to Idaiyangudi by foot, his experience with the people he happened to meet on his way, his close contact with the people of Tinnevelly District, unknowingly made him a historian. As a European he effectively highlighted the customs, habits, nature, antiquity and occupations of the people he came across. With alacrity Caldwell recorded the past. As history is the record of the past, he made extensive studies to give them shape and form. Eventually, one may infer that Caldwell had become a historian incidentally. His innate nature of knowing novel things around him made him a

[34] D. Sugantharaj in an article, Man of Vision, p. 1.
[35] Abstract of Papers of 28th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguistics, Idayangudi, 2000, p. 11.

historian. His contributions mentioned earlier, heralded his emergence as a historian. His writings had captured the hearts of historians. He is known as a missionary historian to the Christian world. His writings infused new blood into Tamil Society which was of local history. Some historians accused Caldwell of not adopting any methodology. But every historian will acknowledge the fact that marked a beginning of historical writing (local history), for which there was no precedent here in this part. Defects may be brushed aside on the ground that it was the first ever attempt. His work the History of Tinnevelly is a remarkable mile stone.

Review of the chapters (Content of the Book)

Caldwell's historical writing was mainly a narrative of dynastic and political history and was a work largely of antiquarian interest. However, it demonstrated for the first time the variety of sources available in South India for historical reconstruction. The origins of names and words, inscriptions, coins, religious and secular literature, and observations of foreigners were incorporated in his work, while the objects and the information collected from sepulture urns and pottery constituted the beginnings of archaeology in Tirunelveli District and opened up the use of epigraphical sources. The exploration of archaeological sites laid the foundation not only for archaeological work but also for an interest in historical geography, which in turn encouraged local history[36].

One of the many subjects that fascinated him was South Indian history. Caldwell's concern about lack of historical consciousness among Indians led to his second book, published in 1881 and entitled "*A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly, in the Madras Presidency, From the Earliest Period to its*

[36] Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, Op.cit., p.157.

Cession to the English Government in A.D. 1801. (hereinafter it will be mentioned as *A History of Tinnevelly*). He spent long years researching and gathering materials for this book, examining local inscriptions and books available at the British Museum and laying his hands on documents and records of the Madras Government related to the period of his study. Recognising Caldwell's expertise, this book was sponsored by the Madras Government and an unsolicited honorarium of ` 1000 was given to him. The book attempted to recover a long expanse – a period of 2000 years – of Tirunelveli history in relation to the wider history of South India[37].

The book contains ten chapter and five appendices. The title of the chapters and the substance are as follows,

1. The first chapter is '*Information From Without Respecting The Earliest Period* : It deals with i) the earliest history of Tinnevelly ii) the paucity of sources, iii) lack of historical sense among the natives, iv) the caste wise inhabitants of Tinnevelly, topography of Tinnevelly, its river Tamraparani and mountain Potigai vi) The three Tamil dynasties – Chera, Chola Pandya and vii) Their relation with Singalese and Commerical contact with Greeks. viii) Coastal areas such as Korkai. Cape Comorin etc.

2. The second chapter is *From the Commencement of The Rule of The Pandyas To The Period of The Supremacy of The Vijayanagara Kings*.

    i) The reign of Pandya and Chola dynasties in detail.

[37] Ibid., p. 156.

ii) Rise of Muhammadan influence in the South esp. Pandya Kingdom.

iii) Visit of Marcopolo and Ibn Batuta.

iv) Dwara Samudra and Vijayanagara Kings.

v) Arrival of Portugese.

vi) The Nayakas.

vii) Overthrow of Vijayanagara dynasty.

viii) Grant of Madras to the English.

3. The third chapter is *From A.D. 1365 to 1731. The Period of the Second Dynasty of Pandyas and of The Nayaks :*

i) The second dynasty of Pandya kings.

ii) Commencement of the Nayaka rule

iii) Origin of Poligars of the South.

iv) The reign of the Nayaks of Madurai in detail.

v) The influence of Portugere in the coastal region of Tinnevelly.

vi) Xavier and the king of Tranvancore.

vii) Pearl Fishery

viii) Introduction of printing

ix) Rule of Tuticorin as a Commerical Centre

x) The Dutch and Tuticorin etc.

4. The fourth chapter is *The Period of the Nawab of Arcot, To Muhammad Yusuf Khan's Administration.*

i) Khan Saheb

Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Commonly called simply Khan Sahib, who was often called "the Pillai", in consequence of his having originally been, not a Muhammadan, but a Vella Hindu, a caste to which the title pertains. In 1754 he was employed as commander of the Company's Native troops. Impressed by his ability the British Government presented him a gold medal as a mark of their favour. In 1756, Muhammad Yusufkhan was appointed to command the troops and carry on the revenue administration in Madura and Tinnevelly from then onwards he began to strengthen the fort of Palamcotta[38].

He had to report his proceedings from time to time to captain Calliaud and to remit all moneys to him. His time is commonly called as "the days of Kansa.[39] He executed five of the agent's collies for stealing horses and oxen belonging to the camp[40]. During the first three years of Yusuf Khan's management he was engaged in constant struggles with the poligars, with every various success[41]. It is evident that upto the close of 1761 the Government had no suspicion of his intention being disloyal. He was the head of 4,000 Sepoys and some Cavalry and march against a Dutch expedition. His troops were well disciplined and well chosen. And certainly no Poligars and no combination of Poligars at that time was in possession of so considerable resources. Muhammed Yusuf continued to govern the Madura Country for some time longer and appears to have made himself exceedingly powerful. In 1762, it became evident that his loyalty was doubtful. So the Government ordered him to come to Madras at once, but he sent trifling excuses in reply. In addition, he was bold enough to wage war against Travancore without the consent of the Government. Further he requested the Government to rent Madura and Tinnevelly for four years at a rent of seven lakhs of

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[38] Bishop R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 91.
[39] Ibid., p.93
[40] Ibid., p.114
[41] Ibid., p.126

rupees per annum. But the Government declined that and ordered for his unconditional surrender. He was irritated against the Nawab and consequently against the Nawab's upholders, the English, by the refusal of his offer to rent Tinnevelly and Madura. In 1763 General Lawrence stated that Yusuf Khan had at last declared himself independent. He amassed men and munitions at Palamcotta and Madura. He enlisted Europeans in his army. Received help from French and Hyder Ali's army. But he was traitorously seized and delivered to Major on Campell, the English Officer in command. In response to the order of the Government Kan Saheb was hanged near the camp about two miles to the west of Madura[42].

i) End of the rules of Nayakas of Madura.

ii) Chanda Saheb seizes Trichinopoly.

iii) The siege of Trichinopoly by the Mahrattas.

iv) Commencement of the rule of the Nawab of Arcot.

v) Tinnevelly and the fort of Palamcotta – Meaning.

vi) First English expedition into Tinnevelly.

vii) Mahfuz Khan's expedition.

viii) Career of Muhammad Yusuf Khan.

ix) The Poligars – origin, Kattaboma Nayaka, Puli Devar.

x) Different kinds of Kaval.

xi) Zamindaries and their tenants.

5. The fifth chapter is *Muhammed Yusuf Khan's Administration, to the capture of Madura and His Death :*

i) Further operations of Muhammad Yusuf Khan.

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[42] Ibid., pp. 126-130.

ii) Battle at Gangaikondan.

iii) Yusuf Khan, Mahfuzkhan and the Poligars

iv) Dutch invasion and retreat.

v) Yusuf's administration, rebellion and death.

6. The sixth chapter is Tinnevelly Annals from 1764-1799. Part – I *From the Death of Yusuf Khan to the Assignment of Revenue in 1781.*

i) Events following the death of Yusuf Khan.

ii) Major Flint and Poligars

iii) Panjalam – meaning and attack on Panjalamkurichi.

iv) Colonel Campbell and the Poligars.

v) Hyder Ali and Poligars.

vi) Dutch and the Poligars.

Part II

From the Assignment of Revenue in 1781 to the commencement of the Bannerman – Poligar War :

i) Assignment of revenue.

ii) First Collector of Tinnevelly.

iii) Capture of Tuticorin.

iv) Mr. Irwin and Colonel Fullarton's expedition.

v) Attack on Poligars.

vi) Kattaboma and the Dutch.

vii) Disarming of the Poligars.

viii) Mr. Jackson, Major Bannerman and Mr. Lushington.

7. The Seventh Chapter is the Bannerman – Poligar War :

i) Sketch of the political position between 1781 and 1801. The assignment of 1781 and the Treaty of 1787.

ii) Poligar Wars – expedition and execution of Kattaboma.

iii) Kattaboma Nayaka

Kattaboma Nayaka

Nayaka of the Kambala division of the caste was a Poligar of Panjalamkurichi. Kattaboma Nayaka was a family name. There were four persons of this name found mentioned. The last Kattaboma Nayaka was called Karuttaiya, Properly Veera Pandya Kattaboma. He had a dumb brother named Kumaraswami Nayaka. Another one younger than him was Sivattiya. Kattaboma was the centre of all disloyalty and misrule. He with his armed followers uses to plunder the Circar and the Poligar villages. In 1797 rebellion broke out in Ramnad. Tinnevelly Poligars under the leadership Kattaboma Nayaka, refusing to pay their Khisthi to the Government. The collector Mr. Jacbson issued an order to meet him at Ramnad. There, kattaboma found that due respect was not given to him. So he escaped with his armed soldiers killing Lieutenant Clarke at the gate. He returned to his fort plundering the Government villages on the way. Then the Government issued a proclamation to demanding Kattaboma to deliver himself to the successor of Mr. Jackson. But Kattaboma did not take notice of that and indulged in raids as before. When Mr. Lushington succeeded Mr. Jackson he wrote a polite letter to Kattaboma demanding him to meet him and bring his arrears of kist. But he did not give heed to that letter. Instead a group of Poligars joined hands in support of Kattaboma. Few remained on the side of the British Government. In this juncture Major Bannerman led an expedition to Panjalamkurichi.

He demanded the surrender of the Poligar (kattaboma). Instead he fled for refuge to Sivagangai and then to Tondiman Raja. But Kattaboma was captured by Tondiman Raja and was sent to Major Bannerman. Major Bannerman tried and executed him on the 16th of October in a conspicuous place near the old fort of Kaiattar, in the presence of all the Poligars of Tinnevelly[43]. Banner Man's Success.

8. The eighth chapter is *The Last Poligar War*

i) Escape of prisoners from Palamcottai Jail

ii) Attack of Panjalamkurichi.

iii) Destruction of the fort.

iv) Reminiscences of the Dumb Brother.

9. The ninth chapter is Conclusion of the Poligar War. Cession of Carnatic to the English Government

i) War against Sivagangai.

ii) The "Murdoos" – Vellai Marudu and Chinna Marudu.

iii) The end of "Murdoos"

iv) Capture of Kalaiyarkovil.

v) Fate of Panjalamkurichi and Capture of Sivattiya.

vi) Lushington's dealings with Kavalgars.

vii) Cession of the country to the English Government.

viii) War the normal condition of the country.

ix) Separation of Ramnad from Tirunelveli.

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[43] Ibid., pp. 1721-183.

10. The tenth chapter is *Missions in Tinnevelly prior to the Cession of the Country to the English in 1801*.

Part – I

Roman Catholic Missions

i) Portugere expedition.

ii) Baptism of the Paravas on the Tinnevelly Coast.

iii) Arrival and administration of Francis Xavier.

iv) The Dutch on the Coast.

v) Beschi – Service and end.

Part II

Missions of the Church of England

i) Schwartz

ii) Congregation of Palamcotta. Initial priest (Eg. Jaenicke, Satyanathan.

iii) Conversion of Shanars.

iv) Origin of Mudalur.

APPENDICES

Appendix – I

Relation between Travancore and Tinnevelly :

Alternations of Government in the Southern District.

Appendix – II

Accounts of the Floods and Pestilential Fever in Tinnevelly in 1810-12

Letters from Mr. Hepburn, the collector, to the Board of Revenue in 1811.

Appendix – III

Tinnevelly Native Authors

Agastya, Nammalvar, Parimelalagar.

Appendix – IV

Sepulchral Urns in Tinnevelly

i) Shape of Urns

ii) Native theories

Appendix – V

Explorations at Korkai and Kayal

Findings of Korkai and Kayal

If we think that Caldwell was not able to give a thorough picture of the Pandyas, that was due to some reasons. He himself says that,

i) Much more is not known about the Pandyas and their predecessors.

ii) That was the age of the patrimony of the poets[44].

iii) To some extent he used legends. Caldwell stands for perfect accuracy[45]. Then how will he bear on such poetical embellishment.

His study of the British period particularly the Poligari revolts was lengthy and most authoritative. Because it is the history of the later India. official letters and government records were available in plenty, which served as sources.

The collections of the materials required for this work occupied him many years, including i) the examination of local inscriptions. ii) and of the books contained

[44] Bishop R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 62.
[45] J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 149.

in the British Museum. iii) and also the examination of all the records of the Madras Government pertaining to the period of his study.[46]

Since he believed that, the only ancient Indian history worthy of the name is that which has been spelled out from inscriptions and coins[47]. So to understand the inscriptions, he carefully examined every book he found in the British Museum pertaining to Indian archaeology, when he visited England[48].

Place Name Study

Caldwell made startling revelations of identifications of places, persons and products. He dissects the names of places and investigates their origin and arrives at conclusions about them. Derivation of the word *Tirunelveli* – According to Caldwell Tinnevelly should be written Tiru-nel-veli, and the meaning of this name is, "the sacred rice hedge", from tiru (the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit Sri) sacred; nel, paddy, rice in the husk; and veli hedge. The Sthalapurana had bambu instead of paddy. Caldwell felt that the letter is nearer the truth, but to his great surprise the Tamil word nel meaning paddy is not found in any of the dictionaries. Even Beshi in his Caturakarati has given the meaning of *nel* as a plant and not a grain. However, the word nel was used to mean paddy (rice in the husk) in old Tamil literature. In Colloquial speech today it means the same. Hence the correctness of Caldwell's conclusion.[49] K. Meenakshisundaram affirms Caldwell's derivation of Tirunelveli[50]. At a latter date

[46] Ibid., p. 151.
[47] Bishop R.Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 2.
[48] J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 149.
[49] Bishop R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 88.
[50] K. Meenakshisundaram, Op.cit., p. 298.

R.P.Sethupillai wrote a book called *Urum Perum* in which he had followed Caldwell's method to a large extent.[51]

The Meaning of the name Tamraparni – Tamra meaning red, parni from parna, a leaf, that which has leaves, that is a tree. Tamraparni might therefore be expected to mean a tree with red leaves. But this is a strange derivation for the name of a river and the idea naturally suggests itself that some event or legend capable of explaining the name lies beyond. This very name was the oldest name for Ceylon. It was called *Tambapanni* by the early Buddhists. Mispronunciation of *Tambapanni* was *Taprobane*.[52] Tamraparni, "the tree with the red leaves", should have been first the name of a tree, then of a town, then of a district, then of a river (it being not uncommon in India for villages to receive their names from remarkable trees), than that it should have been the name of a river at the outset[53].

Meaning of Kayal

The *Cail* of Marcopolo, commonly called in the neighbourhood old Kayal, and erroneously Koil in the Ordnance map of India is situated near the Tamraparni river, about a mile and a half from its mouth. The Tamil Word Kayal means '*a backwater*, *a lagoon opening into the sea*', and the map shows the existence of a large number of these Kayals or backwaters near the mouth of the river. Many of these Kayals have now dried up more or less completely, and in several of them salt pans have been established[54].

Origin of the term Ma'bar :

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[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid., p. 9.
[53] Ibid., p. 10.
[54] Ibid., p. 37.

Ma'bar means literally the passage. It was the name given by the early Arabian Merchants to that portion of the Coromandel Coast which was nearest Ceylon, and from which it was easiest to pass over to the island from the continent. It was afterwards taken to mean the whole coast from Quilon to Nellore, including both the Pandya and the Chola Kingdoms[55].

Meaning of the name Tuticorin

The meaning of the name *Tuttukudi* is said to be the town where the wells get filled up; from tuttu (properlyturttu), to fill up a well, and kudi, a place of habitation; a twon. This derivation, whether the true one or not, has atleast the merit of being appropriate, for in Tuticorin the silting up to old wells and the opening out of new ones are events of almost daily occurence.[56]

Meaning of the name Korkai

Caldwell's *Korkai* was identified with the *Kolkhoi* of Greeks. From its name they called the Gulf of Manar the *Kolchi Gulf*. The meaning of the name Korkai is 'an army, a camp[57]'.

Identification of Korkai and Kayal

Caldwell himself visited Korkai, *the headquarters of pearl trade and Kayal* and set to work on excavations and to do explorations. The sites of two famous places were discovered in the same neighbourhood. A glance at the geology of the neighbourhood disclosed the reason for their abandonment. Both places were situated on the delta of the Tamraparni. Each was originally situated on the sea coast. Korkai was within five

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55 Ibid., p. 36.
56 Ibid., p. 75.
57 Ibid., p. 283.

and Kayal within two miles of the sea. Due to the accumulation of silt or as the land rose or from both causes, Korkai was found at length to be too far inland for the convenience of sea borne trade, and Kayal rose in its stead on the sea-shore and attained perhaps to still greater dimensions. Kayal carried on an immense direct trade with China and Arabia, the evidences of which – broken pieces of China and Arabian Pottery – are found lying all over the open plain on which the city stood[58].At Korkai he found two images of Buddha and three sepulchral urns. At Kayal he found evidences of the perfect truth of Marco Polo's statements respecting the trade of the place, confirmed by those of the Muhammadan historians. According to those statements, Kayal was frequented by great numbers of vessels from the Arabian Coast and from China[59].

Identification of coins and deciphering of inscriptions for historical writing

As Caldwell stated in his convocation address that, the only ancient Indian history worthy of the name is that which has been spelled out from inscriptions and coins. He was interested in the collection of coins and inscriptions. A considerable quantity of Muhammadan gold coins was discovered in Tinevelly (Pudugudi, Srivaikuntham) near an old road leading from Kayal. They were Arabic coins belonged to the 13th century A.D, brought to India by Arab merchants some time before Marco Polo's visit in 1292[60]. He had written in detail the gold coins found near old Kayal that belonged to the period prior to the 14th century and that among them were coins of King Peter of Aragon.

Inscriptions E.g. Mr. Turnbull gave the names and dates of several Pandya Kings who were said to have been, directly or indirectly connected with the place.

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[58] Ibid., p. 283.
[59] Ibid., p. 285.
[60] Ibid., p. 287.

Ati-Vira – Rama Pandya is represented in this account as having commenced his reign in A.D.1099; but a Tamil inscription found in the temple at that very place, states that his reign commenced in 1562. A similar inscription in the Courtallam temple in Sanskrit makes his reign commence nearly at the same date, viz, in 1565. So also Ponnan Perumal Parakrama Pandya, in whose reign the Tenkasi temple was built, was stated by Mr. Turubull's informants to have commenced his reign in 1309. But the inscription on the pillar opposite the temple, referred to above places the commencement of his reign in 1431[61]. Caldwell relied more on inscriptions than on oral traditions. He says that he had found inscriptions of Sundara Pandya at a place called Mara Mangalam just outside Kayal. Marco Polo called Sundara Pandya Deva as 'Sonder Bandi Devar. He says that he ruled over both the Pandya and Chola countries[62].

Pandya's embassies to Rome – Pandyan trade with the west – articles of trade

Caldwell had explained clearly that the Indian ambassadors who came to Emperor Augustus during the earlier half of the first century. A.D as stated by Strabo, were none other than those sent by the Pandyas; it was again the Pandyas who revived the communication with the West, fully knowing its advantages, though the North Indian rulers gave up the communication started by Alexander the Great. He had also explained the fame of the trade with Kayalpattinam. Pearl trade existed in those days[63]. Articles of merchandize were rice, peacock, cinnamon, and pepper. The Greek word 'oryza' denotes rice in English and arisi in Tamil. The old Tamil tokai becomes in Hebrew *tuki* Ophir is Uvari in Tamil. Ginger is Injiver[64].

[61] Ibid., p. 54.
[62] Ibid., p. 38.
[63] Ibid., pp. 16-17.
[64] Ibid., p. 23.

Caste domination and social segregation

The hill tribes are Kanikkaras regarded like the Tudas of the Nilagris, as surviving representatives of the earliest inhabitants of the plains. The representatives of the earliest race of inhabitants are those long-oppressed tribes that are now considered the lowest in the social scale, the Paraias and Pallas. The Brahmans came from the north. From the north came Nayakas and other Telugu castes. Vellalas came from the Chola country the Marvas from Ramnad country and the Shanars from Ceylon. "Paraiya" means a drummer, "Palla" appears to mean a man who works low-lying lands. The rude tribe commonly called Vedas. Vellalas are the cultivators[65].

Conversion:

Catholicism

The Portugese formed some settlements on the Tinnevelly coast. Certain Paravas / fishing caste visited Cochin seeking the aid of Portugese against the oppressions of Muhammadans in 1532. There the Michaelvaz Vicar General of the Bishop babptized them. Thus Roman Catholic Mission in Tinnevelly was established. The Portugere chastised the Mohammadan oppressors. There after the entire Parava caste adopted the religion of their Portugese deliverers and most of them received baptism. Following Michael Vaz, Francis Xavier and Beschi. Robert de Nobili, de

[65] Ibid., p. 4.

Britto, Banchet, and Arland were responsible for conversions. At a latter date it was estimated that there were 385,000 Christians in the eastern part of India[66].

Protestant Mission

At first the Tinnevelly Mission was an off shoot of that in Tanjore. Schwartz first visited Palamcottai in 1778 and baptised a widow of a Brahmin name Glorinda. Her name appears at the head of the small list of 40 persons constituting the Palamcotta congregation in 1780. From Tanjore he sent an ablest catehist Satyanathan, to take care of Palamcotta. Afterwards he sent Jaenicke a European (German) Missionary to take charge of the infant mission. Native Christians in Palamcotta and the neighbourhood had increased to 403. Satyanathan was the first Native Minister, it was through him that a Christian movement among the Shanars commenced. Sundaranandam alias David was the first Shanar Catehist, and the first Shanar protestant Christian[67]. The new Christians in Viayaramapuram fell victim to the annoyance of the non-Christian neighbours and abandoned the village. David purchased a piece of land for them and made it their settlement. Since it was the first Christian village, it received the name 'Mudalur', "First town". The three societies namely Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society involved in Proseltysation of Tinnevelly[68].

Education

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[66] Ibid., pp. 232-244.
[67] Ibid., p. 246.
[68] Ibid., p. 247.

Roman Catholic Mission had a college at Tuticorin. Three fathers and three lay-brothers resided there. Father Henrique who was regarded as a saint established relief-houses during a famine in 1570[69].

As far as the protestant Missions are concerned even at the early period (period of Schwartz) education had not been neglected. The congregation and the school went hand-in-hand[70].

Cession of the Country to the English Government

Tinnevelly along with the rest of the Carnatic was peacefully ceded to the East India Company, by the treaty of July 31, 1801. This resulted in the change of rulers, change of principles, methods of government for future betterment. Mr. Lushington was appointed as the Collector of Tinnevelly[71].

Administrative Changes

When the British government assumed power whole aspect of things in Tinnevelly has changed for the better in a wonderful degree.

i) Thick jungles the hiding places of banditti became cultivable lands.
ii) Good roads have been laid, bridges built, better mode of transport came into practice.
iii) Transit duties have been utterly abolished.
iv) Courts were established and legal codes have been introduced.
v) Hospitals and dispensaries were established.

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69 Ibid., p. 235.
70 Ibid., p. 245.
71 Ibid., p. 225.

vi) During the famine of 1877, unlike before the government took every measure to preserve the people from dying of hunger.

vii) Education was made available for the poorer classes too.

viii) Introduction of railway and telegraph were the wonders of that age.

ix) It has endeavoured not to raise a few classes only, but to lift the whole community to a higher level.

x) The district has become so quiet, peaceful and contented[72].

Caldwell's Sources of Information

Caldwell felt that for writing a work on philosophy or history, the author should be just, clear and systematic. For acquiring these qualities, his reading should be broad based, he should have clear pattern of thought and he should have regard for facts. It was well known to Caldwell that those without affection for the subject could not see the facts but affection became laughing stock in research. Due to the dearth of sources for historical writing, he relied on sources such as coins, inscriptions and foreign notices. He evinced great interest in collecting these diverse forms of materials both native and foreign. Though the paucity of sources came in handy he never related in his endeavors to continue the work of writing history[73].

He stressed **accuracy** and **certainty** of facts[74]. Due to lack of time and shrouded programmes he could not do so. Caldwell himself narrated his experience in collecting sources. From the time of his arrival in India, Tinnevelly, he set himself to the study of philology, ethnology and history. He procured the best books that were attainable and

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[72] Ibid., pp. 229-230.
[73] Bishop R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 2.
[74] Ibid., p. 1-2.

learnt German that he might be able to make use of the vast stores of Indian learning accumulated by German scholars[75].

Caldwell's intimate personal acquaintance with the people and their dialects, his patient study of their past are proved by his History of Tinnevelly and Tinnevelly Shanars. His strong religious convictions made his pursuits of knowledge, though difficult, easy and effective. His patience and perseverance enabled him to accumulate a mass of carefully verified and original materials such as no other European scholars has ever amassed in India[76].He had to depend for information on the results of his own examination of the Government records, preserved in the Government office and office of the Board of Revenue, Madras and in the Treasury in Tinnevelly[77]. The nature of Tamil and the Tamil people were known to Caldwell through printed books and through contact with scholars. When time permitted, be collected evidences for history, linguistics, culture etc. and kept them after arranging them systematically[78]. Caldwell felt that for writing a work on philosophy or history, the author should be just, clear and systematic. For acquiring these qualities, his reading should be broad based, he should have clear pattern of thought and he should have regard for facts. It was well known to Caldwell that those without affection for the subject could not see the facts but affection became laughing stock in research[79].

His Approach

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[75] 1870 – Educational Work of the Society in Madras (Madras, Idayangudi and Puthiamputhur Missions) Courtesy. A Chelladurai, Bell Bins, Palayamcottai, 2000, p. 173.
[76] The "Times" on Bishop Caldwell, October 19, 1891.
[77] Bishop R. Caldwell, p. 125.
[78] DLA News, May, 2000, p. 5.
[79] Ibid., p. 4.

History of Tinnevelly will be remembered as a work which set the standards for historical works[80]. K. Meenakshi Sundaram affirming the views of Caldwell, says :

i) History was neglected by natives.

ii) Nothing much was known about the various districts, so Caldwell's book was a welcome beginning.

iii) Caldwell showed the ways and means to gather facts and to sift the authentic once for relevant use.

iv) The various origins of names and words inscriptions, coins and statements foreigners were the chief sources[81].

When Caldwell had finished writing records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of S.P.C.K. and SPG, he indicated that, his object was to collect and preserve all those records, many of them in manuscripts, which seemed to throw light on the early history of so interesting a Mission, but which seemed likely to disappear, and be forgotten[82]. From this his idea of transferring the past to the future is visible. His method and ideas resemble those of Herodotus. Herodotus gathered oral testimony from the survivors and also the descendants of the survivors. He weighed and carefully sifted the oral accounts[83]. Which was probable, possible or impossible. Herodotus wished to preserve the past for future generations. "My duty is to report all that is said", says Herodotus. True to his words he faithfully reports what all he had heard or seen or observed.[84] Thucydides was "the first truly critical historian of the world". He wrote the history of the Peloponnesian War that took place between the

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[80] K. Meeakshisundaram, *The Contribution of European Scholars to Tamil*, University of Madras, 1974, p. 297.
[81] Ibid.
[82] 1870 - Educational Work of the Society in Madras, p. 173.
[83] Edited by K. Sadasivan, *Proceedings of Tamilnadu History Congress*, V Annual Session, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, 1998, p. 309.
[84] Ibid.

Athens and the Spartans. He travelled twenty years to write the book. He was a forerunner to write political history[85]. Caldwell followed both Herodotus and Thucydides and collected materials by oral testimonies and travels (from Madras to Idayangudi). Greece was the home of historical writing. Greeks first learnt the art of writing real history and perceived its purpose, its duties and its laws. The Greeks were the originators of history as they were of science and philosophy. Caldwell too did on the spot study and observations on men and matters. His field work included exploration at Korkai and Kayal[86]. Since history is investigation, Caldwell investigated the places and persons for weaving the thread.

There was no need for a historian of Tinnevelly to learn Germany. He felt that unless he learnt German, it would have been incomplete for him to write the history of any part of India, for the then available material / works were in German. He learnt German, collected the materials written in it and used them for his major writing. This helped him produce two major works, one on history, the other on language, besides many other literary productions of lesser importance[87].

Caldwell's mammoth achievements - 4 books, 20 pamphlets were written by him, inspite of the fact that he was not accustomed to Indian climate lived on a very trying climate of Idaiyangudi (3 months hot, 9 months hotter). Hostile climatic conditions did not allow him to enjoy perfect health for a day[88]. This shows his tenacious devotion to the land of his adoption. Except for an occasional furlough, he lived for more than half a century in Tinnevelly.

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[85] Ibid., p. 310.
[86] Bishop R. Caldwell, Op.cit., pp. 282-87.
[87] The London Times, October 19, 1891.
[88] 1870 – Educational Work of the Society, Op.cit., p. 173.

He was a conscious scholar aimed at cultivating more than a working knowledge of India and her people. It was his aim to be an authority on subjects he cultivated, particularly to South India. His aim of being a scholar and an authority can also be seen in his determination to be accurate and precise in his knowledge of India. This could be seen from his own words about the works he has done during his visit to England[89]. It was such systematic and methodical study and research that enabled him to produce pioneering work such as *A Political and General History of Tinnevelly* a work that has come to have such an enormous impact on modern South Indian History. His work on the History of Tinnevelly is one of the earliest attempts to trace the history of this region, using modern methods of historical enquiry. It shows his great scholarship; Its transparent advocacy of the benefits of the British rule and the Christian impact is discernible. Divided into chapters such as Early Hindu Period, Later Hindu Period, Period of English Interventions and Missions, the book serves as a model of a macro study on a micro theme. According to him, "war had been the normal condition of Tinnevelly from the beginning of man's abode till A.D. 1801 . . . Tinnevelly has now enjoyed uninterrupted peace for 80 years . . . and in consequence of this all the arts of peace have had time to be developed and to approach something like perfection . . . Hospitals and dispensaries . . . institutions unknown before even by name have been established . . . it (British) has not only governed them better than they were ever governed before, but has taught and encouraged them as far as possible[90]. Caldwell has laid emphasis on the political unity that the British could achieve not by peaceful means but by bloodshed. They hanged the sons of the soil or harboured differences among the claimants and unseated them. British conquest of Tinnevelly has a record of much bloodshed and diplomatic maneuvering.

[89] Bishop Caldwell, Protestant Missions in India, p. 149.
[90] Bishop R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 230.

As a student of history, it is necessary to compare the political situation in England in the 19th century. In the 17th century, England witnessed the assassination of Charles I in 1641 and revolutions in 1688. Before achieving political unity in England, it had a sad history. In Tirunelveli, their methods applied were unjustifiable, unconscious of law. Infact, British were the invaders like the Aryans. In the proselytisation activities, the missionaries were indirectly supported by the rulers. In fact, if Caldwell thinks that there was nothing in the land earlier; it is true that the British tried to transform the land into a Christian country, but they failed in their attempt. Except the liberal ideas and social measures they had initiated, the British Raj exploited the economy of the country and left the people high and dry.

In the concluding remarks of his history work Caldwell says, "A mixed government . . . came thus to an end was succeeded by a government purely English, at unity with itself, and a just as it was powerful. The results of this change have been most important and valuable. Prof. Wilson . . . places in a striking to right the course of things would have taken if the English Government had not be enabled to interpose its authority". "It may be concluded", he says, "that had not a wise and powerful policy interfered to enforce the habits of social life, the five districts south of Kaveri . . . would have reverted to the state in which tradition describes them long anterior to Christianity, and would have once more have become a suitable domicile for the goblins of Ravana or the apes of Hanuman[91].

Caldwell's Methodology

i) Collection of data

ii) Exposition

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[91] Ibid., p. 228.

From his own writings, particularly Reminiscences, History of Tinnevelly, it is gleaned that the following ways and means are adopted by him to gather sources or for collection of data.

1. After his arrival in India especially in Tinnevelly, he started studying Indian Philology, ethnology and history.

2. He procured best books and learnt them.

3. He learnt German. Because in those days only German scholars were more acquainted with Indian History. They did research work and wrote a lot about India and deciphered inscriptions and coins. So to get into those sources he learnt their language (German)

4. Whenever he happened to visit England, he availed himself in the British Museum and carefully examined every book pertaining to Indian archaeology.

5. He examined every reference to India to be found in the Greek and Roman Classics and geographies from Herodotus down to the Byzantine writers.

6. His chief aim was to be perfectly accurate.

7. Jotting down information and then whenever he found time he used to develop them.

8. Collection of local inscriptions, coins and books in British Museum.

9. Allotment of time factor per day. Two hours in the mission field, four hours during voyages and six hours in the health resorts.

10. Generally, he allowed the reported, letters and other documents to speak for themselves contenting himself as far as possible with the work of a collector and editor. His view differs from that of K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. Sastri says that, in history facts do not always speak for themselves and the historian has to make them speak. Sastri was of the opinion that if he does so subjectivity may creep in[92]. So he wanted to avoid subjective element. Caldwell says that he had spared no labour in the collection of information, so that the reader may feel assured that he is in possession of all the facts of the history, but he had generally left the reader to from his own conclusions as to the nature and value of the work carried on from the period. As far as the church history is concerned, he hoped that it would be found interesting and useful. Caldwell had indeed systematically and methodically cultivated his knowledge of India especially of South India.

Review of the History of Tinnevelly :

1. A historian must be free from biases. i.e. racial, ethnic, linguistic, regional or religious. But Robert Caldwell to some extent held his race in high esteem and disdained the natives as heathens. His view that the British rule was predestined by God was his firm belief. He painted a divine colour to the British rule[93].

[92] Proceedings of the Tamil Nadu History Congress, Op.cit., p. 359.
[93] Y. Vincent Kumara doss, Op.cit., p.158.

2. He championed the cause of the Dravidian race by condemning the Aryans as overpowering and humiliating the Dravidians. This could be clearly seen in the preface of Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages. Perhaps be arrived at the conclusion became of his finding that Tamil is superior to Sanskrit as if it was a God sent – one to the Tamils. He no where criticised the British military overtures and critically examined their consequences on the natives.

3. He voiced the cause of Shanars against Maravars, the inhabitants of palai region. He says that the ancient Tamilaham had warriors apart from Maravars, for instance the Malters. His view that the shanars have been from Sri Lanka (Jaffna) is not tenable further researches are going on.

4. While he praised the regin of the Chera chola and the Pandyas, he condemned that of the Nayaks[94]. He credited all goods and benefits, development and improvement of Tinnevelly and Tamil Nadu in a larger sense to the British rule and accused the pre-British rule as a state of anarchy and stagnation[95].

5. His caustic criticism about the Nayak rule at Madurai is given below: "On the basis of an assessment not only on the present European limitations, but also on the Hindu and Muslim works on dharma, if we make an unbiased study, we have to conclude that the Nayks as rules have gone astray and in their duties. Having an intention in mind, going to temples and gracing their benevolences to the Gurukkals and through

[94] Ibid., p.160.
[95] I bid.

their Kavirayars and getting false praises and pretensions, they kept the masses under unrighteous rule. Their rule has lost life, treachery, robbery, cruelty[96].

6. Though he had a soft for the British rule, he did not fail to warn the British Government too, and says that the continuance and establishment of the British rule depended on "our doing justly and loving mercy"[97]. This he uttered after witnessing the revolt of 1857.

7. He has the credit for having brought out the hitherto hidden History of Tinnevelly to the public view. Starting from the second Pandian Empire he did a marvelous job of throwing light on the British rule inclusive of the Nayaks and the Vijayanagara Kings, Poligars and the Dutch, throwing much light on the Parava Coast, Korkai, Kayal etc..

8. He left no single stone unturned to build the History of Tinnevelly. Archaeology then a branch of history was also touched by Caldwell. His findings such as sepulchral urns, colorations at Korkai and Kayal, the discovery of the history of the region and its relationship with foreign countries such as Greece, Rome and Arabia are of immense value. More over the discoveries on literary references paved way for his successors

[96] N. Kandasamy Pillai, Op. cit., p.126
[97] Bishop R.Caldwell, Op,cit., p.231.

to further tread the way and bring out startling discoveries using modern technologies[98].

9. Caldwell's ideas helped to solve different crucial problems in the History of Tamil Nadu. His view that "The Dravidians like the Aryans came from outside but earlier than the Aryans. The Dravidian language is affiliated to Scythian language, but not derived from Sanskrit. The Dravidians were the civilized people before the coming of the Aryans" are path breaking. He traced the antiquity of the Tamil language back to the days of king Solomon of the tenth century B.C[99].

10. The deciding factor of the history of a country is its topography. Geography is the right eye of History. Geographical knowledge is essential to understand history in a right way. According to Rawlison 'Geography' is the foundation of all historical knowledge Caldwell found out the fact that even learned Indians lack geographical knowledge. He tried to mitigate that sense by beginning his noteworthy History of Tinnevelly with geographical study. He has given a glowing description of the physical and Geographical features of Tinnevelly. Caldwell's presentation of the geographical feature of the region concurs with that of Kalhana's in his Rajata Rangini. Kalhana was the master of accurate topography of Kashmir owing to his experience and travels. Caldwell too acquired his knowledge of geography through his leisurely walk from Madras to Idaiyangudi. That echoed in his first chapter of A History of Tinnevelly.

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[98] I bid., 279 -288.
[99] Prof. James R. Daniel (ed.) Grace Hepzibah, "The westerners contribution to the History of Tamil Nadu" Proceedings of the 7th All India Conference of BCRC., Idaiyangudi, 2008, p.7.

11. History of Tinnevelly is the first of its kind and stands as a model to the successor researchers and writers. No doubt his writing created many historians big and small. The significance of his studies are realized when his findings have been tested and valued by latter historians such as professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, D.R. Bhandarkar, Gilbert Slater in the early part of the 20th Century and H.R.Pate in the second decade of that century and Prof. K. Rajayyan, in the early part of the 20th century Dr. S. Kathirvel, the editor of the new Tirunelveli Gazetteer etc in the latter part of the same century[100].

12. His various works have always been a fascinating study. The phenomenal impact of his writings roused many historians such as Kanagasabai Pillai, Gurugugadasa Pillai, Prof. N. Subramanian, Robert Hardgrieves, Edgar Thurstone, P.Subramanian, Templeman, M. Immamuel. etc. The need of the hour is to nourish and flourish the hopes of young historians, so as to inquire into many aspects of Caldwell's writings on all spheres such as history, literature and religion. Availability and accessibility of rich sources of modern times will certainly give birth to more promising historians. In the words of Oscar Wilde "Any body can make history, only a great man can write history". Caldwell is being placed in the list of great historians ever to be born.

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[100] Students and research scholars of the Department of the History of the Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, while doing their M.Phil or Ph.D researches have freely made use of his findings in their works on British military history, revenue systems, judicial administration, the erudition of the Paravas, Nadars (Chanars), irrigation schemes, bridges and canals, Palmyrah palm, paddy fields transport particularly rail – ways and mills (mill strikes) freedom struggle and British repressive measures, etc.

History of Tinnevelly is an encyclopedia in miniature. Caldwell takes us to the whole of Tamil Nadu. It is really, 'a book of revelation'. It is a fascinating study on botany, geography, numismatics and archaeology. It is the most referred to and most quoted book on Tinnevelly. All research scholars find it a repository of knowledge. Even the Tirunelveli Gazetteer is based on this marvelous book. The author had enjoyed the beauty of the Mount in the Western Ghats and never failed to record it. About Mount Pothigai he says that it can be seen from Tirunelveli and Trivandrum. The author of this book started at the majesty of Pothigai standing at advantage point at the Sulochana Mudaliar Bridge. As the Trivandrum of today is different from the Trivandrum of Caldwell's days, one has to go to the outskirts of Trivandrum to have a view of mount Pothigai[101].

Caldwell was proficient in geo-political knowledge and further investigation intended to write the History of Tinnevelly after much enquiry and observation. He inquired into archaeological sources (epigraphs and buildings). He records the extent of Tirunelveli mountains that decorate, rivers that flow through the region. Tambraparani has received his appreciation. He records all dynasties that ruled Tirunelveli, its socio and religious condition, maritime trade with Arabs, Portugese and English, their customs and so on are portrayed descriptively[102]. He says that European scholars only deciphered some inscriptions, yet many remains yet to be studied.[103]

Caldwell studied the rare collection of coins of the King of Travancore with great interest and enthusiasm. He wrote a short monograph on them in which he said

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[101] I bid., p.1.
[102] The London times, October 19, 1891.
[103] K. Sadasivan (ed.) Grace Hepzipah, "The Historical Method of Prof. K. Nilakanta Sastri "*Proceedings of Tamil Nadu History Congress,* V Annual Session, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, 1998, p. 360.

that the coins were issued by Roman Emperors beginning from Augustus to Nero. This was published by the king of Travancore in 1851[104].

Another point of Caldwell's discussion is of the history of Polygars. He traced the history of Polygars in detail, running to nearly four chapters. In this connection he speaks of Kattabomman as a family name and enumerated nearly four Kattabommans. In the recent past two native scholars have written two books on the Poligar, asserting two separate views on Kattabomman. If these authors go deep into the details of Caldwell's work, they are bound to realise their errors and they could sit down to write true history in the light of Caldwell's beautiful picturesque descriptions, based on real evidences. K. Meenakshisundaram accepted the views of Caldwell about Kattabomman and exhorted the authors of Kattabomman to true history in the light of Caldwell's revelations.[105]

Bharata Kantapuranam (Indian antiquities) was another work of Caldwell. It was a reprint of the 'Friendly Instructor' and was first published from Madras in 1893. In this work Caldwell conceded the opinion held by other European scholars that the Ramayana and Mahabharata were the inevitable con-comitants of flourishing political geniuses for which there has never been a dearth in this country and that they have no historical importance except for a rare not easily detected facts strewn here and there. Of the two Mahabharatam is better for a study of the ancient rulers and their methods[106].

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[104] V. I. Subramaniam, Op.cit., p.4.
[105] K. Meenakshisundaram, Op.cit., p. 298.
[106] Bishop Caldwell R., Paratakantapuranam, 1893, p. 74.

History always challenges and makes us to fit to do our duty at present. We are all making history whether we like it or not. A historical work will challenge all who read that to make it a sound foundation for the future.[107]

K. Meenakshisundaram appreciates Caldwell's vivid description about the spread and suffering pestilence that have shaken the inhabitants of the district and says that this narration will help us build the super-structure regarding social conditions. He again says that a list of the names of authors and poets given in the Appendix by Caldwell would be of great help to construct their biographies[108].

N. Kandasamy Pillai of Palliaharam, Thanjai analysed the life and works of Caldwell and has given an evaluation in his article *Caldwellum Avar Valintha Kalamum* (II). He has accepted many of the views of Caldwell. To cite few,

i) Strabo the historian speaks of Emperor Augustus to whom an Indian Embassy was sent. Caldwell claimed that, that Embassy was sent by Pandiya Kings.

ii) While the North Indian kings forsook or fore gone the Indo-Europe or Greek relations initiated or started by Alexander the Great, it was maintained by Pandya kings, realising the benefits of Western contact.

iii) Caldwell gave a vivid description of pearl trade. He collected coins near Pazhayakayal and studied and revealed that they belonged to the century before 14^{th}. He found coins of Peter of Aragon among them. He described the exciting trade of Kayalpatnam.

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[107] D.S. George Muller, The Birth of a Bishopric, 1992, Forward.
[108] K. Meenakshisundaram, Op.cit., p. 298.

iv) Finally he says that many historical truths came to light by latter researches. So, even if it is a good book, we cannot accept all the facts as they are given / written by Caldwell. It is apt to place this in the list of District Manuals of Tanjore, Madurai and Malayalam by Vengasamy Rayar, Nelson and Logan[109].

v) He accepted Caldwell's method of investigation and the means and ways of his writing. Caldwell found many facts in classical Hebrew and Greek literature related to Tamilaham.

Critical Evaluation

Caldwell's work is not completely free from subjective elements. A tinge of subjectivity seems to have overpowered him.

i) Caldwell held Indian civilisation to be stagnant and inferior to European. He criticised the East India Company officials for endorsing the native Indian scholarship transmitted by the upper castes, in particular the Brahmins. He himself employed the term 'Western Brahmin's to criticise oriantalists like William Jones and Herry Colebrook for their reliance on the opinions of native Brahmins, and for their tolerance of Hinduism[110].

ii) He had great faith in the superiority of British civilisation and the benefits it could bestow on Indians. As early as 1857, he alluded to his belief in the so-called divine plan allowing British imperialism to govern India. "Mainly

[109] N. Kandasamy Pillai, Op.cit., p.125-126.
[110] Ibid., p. 19.

and ultimately, however, I doubt not that the rule of the opinion, but on the will of Most High, the Supreme Ruler of the nations, who raised up England, and confided might "tell it out amongst the heathen that the Lord is King". It cannot be supposed that Divine Providence has placed England in so high a position, and brought about such extraordinary results, for no other purpose than our national aggrandisement; it was surely for the benefit of India that he permitted us to become rulers of India – it was in order that we might impart to India the benefit of over just laws, our rational liberty, and our progressive civilization, and especially that we might impart to it the knowledge of the religion of Christ – that religion which alone can make any nation good, happy or permanently great[111]."

iii) Caldwell in his concluding remarks, he commented the anarchy of this district and predicted a better future under British rule. He says that War seems to have been the normal condition of Tinnevelly, as of the rest of Southern India from the beginning of man's abode in these regions till A.D. 1801. A district that never from the beginning knew peace for 80 months together – probably never even for 80 weeks – has now enjoyed profound, uninterrupted peace for 80 years and in consequence of this all the arts of peace have had time to be developed and to approach something like perfection[112].

iv) To a certain degree he is preoccupied with racial superiority.

[111] Bernard S. Cohn, Colonialism and Its Form of Knowledge : The British in India, New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 3.
[112] Bishop R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 229.

v) Religious bias could be seen in him by the words he used to denote the natives as heathens. He believed that only Christianity could serve as a soothing balm for their development and well being.

vi) For historical writing Caldwell relied on the anecdotes and traditions narrated by the natives. So subjective elements might have creeped in.

vii) He was very harsh in describing the qualities of the Shanars. He says that they are intellectually dull (intellectual dullness of the Shanars) and stupid people[113]. (But he withdrew his book latter).

CONCLUSION

He had written the book not only with the feeling that he was a Tamilian, but also that he was a subject of Tirunelveli[114]. Though this was a famous book, some of the information it contained could not be accepted as latter historical researches tell otherwise. This book would very well find its place along with the scripts of history about Tanjore, Madurai and Malayalam districts written by the scholars and Logan[115].

Belonging to the late 19th century and preceding P. Sundaram Pillai in his historical efforts, Caldwell has become a legend and a king pin in the historiography of this region. His historical work was perhaps the least of what he achieved in this land of his adoption. His work on the History of Tinnevelly is still a foundational work on that subject and shares with Nelson's Madura Country, the entire honours for the scholarly

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113 Rev. R. Caldwell, Op.cit., pp. 66 & 65.
114 International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics Vol. XVIII, No. 1, January, 1989, pp. 58-59.
115 Ibid., p. 59.

writing on the Pandyan region. It is a political and general history of the district of Tinnevelly in the presidency of Madras (1881)[116].

Caldwell's contribution to local history is still serves as a model. In the absence of any local history he ventured to write such a history. He was not a professional historian. He was an amateur historian. He made him an amateur historian par excellence in South India. Basically he was a missionary deputed for poseltysation of the Gospel. But his innate nature of inquiry, investigation of novel things, curiosity, enthusiasm. cordial relations with the natives irrespective of caste, creed, colour, status etc., his affection and care towards them, at times of natural calamities, his involvement in his duties and volunteer activities made him a good writer of languages history and religion. He made and loved his inhabitant region and the surrounding areas as his mother land. He was an exceptional amateur historian. Many foreigners, though they made India their abode, they remained as foreigners, ignoring the natives, did not mingle with them as they mingled with their countrymen. But Caldwell's behaviour is different from them. He made himself one of the natives. This helped him to overcome all hurdles on his way to produce such mammoth works. The scholar is of the opinion that the nature and qualities of Caldwell made him an amateur historian par excellence in South India than a professional historian.

[116] N. Subramanian, Tamilian Historiography Ennes Publications, Madurai, 1 Edition, 1988, p. 107.

CHAPTER – V

CALDWELL AS A RELIGIOUS HISTORIAN

Many people became missionaries and selected their working spot in India, especially Tirunelveli. Among the missionaries of that time Rev. Caldwell was elevated to the post of Assistant Bishop of Madras. Accepting a post, shows his supremacy. His supremacy showed his multifaceted personality. He was a preacher, teacher, scholar, researcher, writer and administrator. He was a versatile personality. Psychology terms these persons as abnormal[1]. In the World Map of Christian Missions, Tinnevelly occupies a significant place as a field, most congenial to the sowing of the Gospel seed, where missionaries have found their labours most rewarding. Surveying it in 1857, Caldwell wrote with just elation. There the eye and heart..... are gladdened by the sight of the largest, the most thriving, and the most progressive Christian community in India. [2]

Generally Missionaries used to record their day today doings in note books and diaries. Having been a servant of the Society for the Propagation of Gospel (SPG)[*]Caldwell wanted himself to be a model for other missionaries. Besides, he was coming from a land where the new spirit of enquiry about. The past was becoming widespread to a country where there is no sense of history proper. In the medieval times in Europe, new method of philology became a popular subject of study in Western Universities. Caldwell also *learnt this subject and got training* in their techniques.

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1 E.James R.Daniel,(ed.)Proceedings of the Seventh All India Conference of BCRC, Idaiyangudi, 2008,P.34.

2 Lectures on the Tinnevelly Missions (Bell & Daldy 1857) & DS George Muller, Birth of a Bishopric, Tirunelvlei. 1980, P.I.

* Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,(SPG) This society was established in 1701, belonged the church of England. Its foremost aim was to propagate Christianity to the countries ruled by England especially to Indu Desam (The Rev. W.T. Sathianadhan, A sketch of Church History, Madras, The Religious Tract and Book Society, 1910, p. 404.

Belonged to a Scottish family but born in Ireland and educated in England, Caldwell learnt the Hebrew religion, Greek arts, Roman ethics and modern science and took up religious service. He could have served a University in any city and enjoyed the royal treatment, but chose to live in a dry sand dune area in Tirunelveli District. He had decided to serve God, the service to humanity by his *intellectual and human* ways. Caldwell was not only a Missionary but also a religious historian. The historic sense in him made him to write the church History of Tirunelveli.

The aim of this chapter is to throw light on the religious works of Caldwell. Before we delve deep into the religious work of Caldwell, at the outset let up have a birds eye view of the related factors such as i) Religious condition of the natives. ii) Christianity at the time of the advent of Caldwell. iii) Services of Caldwell. iv) Christianity after Caldwell. v) works of early Missionaries / contemporary Missionaries. vi) Clarinda church vii) Opposition to Christianity.

Religious condition of the natives Paganism, multi gods and goddesses, rituals and festivals :

Since the fall of Vijayanagar Empire, the political authority passed from the Telugus to the Muslims and from the Muslims to the British; yet the dominant status of the priestly community the Brahmans continued unaffected.

The existence of many temples in the Tinnevelly district dedicated to Siva, Vishau at Tinnevelly, Tiruchendur, Alwartirnagari, Nanguneri, etc. might suggest the omnipotence of Brahmanism. In the villages where the Brahmans are found, the traditional respect due to them both individually and as a class was rendered. They were the owners of better irrigated lands. They still ranked as the head of the native society as a sacred, priestly aristocracy. They had not degraded themselves by

intercaste marriages with the lower caste. They performed priestly rituals in temples, lived in Chaturvedimangalams (which the rulers seized from the common the peasants to be given away to them and agraharams, took food in the feedings houses attached to the temples[3]. Though they constituted just three percent of the population, they occupied most of the high posts under the British administrators. They looked down upon the Tamils with hatred contemptuously referred to the inhabitants as melechas and considered Tamil as the languages of the melechas[4].

The degraded superstitions of the natives old devil worship degraded them and their fore fathers down for generations.[5]

South India's blood and power divinities can be divided into two main categories. The first of these are the goddesses or Ammans, including Mariyamman (or Muttumariyamman) the bringer of small pox and fever Bhagavathi the divine female warrior of Malabar, and the spear – Wielding Durga who fights a savage blood drenched battle against the buffalo demon Mahisasura. These battles were (and still are) crucial to the south Indian goddess tradition.[6]

The second group of beings who belong to this category of blood as power divinities are the masculine figures such as (Munisveran, Muniaiyar) Lord Aiyanar the warrior horseman, Karuppan the club bearing hero and Madan or Sudalaimaddan who is often visualized as pig faced giant or a mustachioed sword – waving military man. The divinities also play a part in the destruction of 'demonic' enemies, and the goddess they too are perceived as divinities who may play an active role in human affairs.[7]

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[3] Rajayyan K., History of Tamil Nadu, Madurai, 1982, p. 274.
[4] Ibid., p. 275.
[5] Bishop Caldwell Protestant Missions in India, p.370.
[6] Susan Bayly, Saints Goddesses and Kings, Cambridge University press, Cambridge, 1989, p. 28.
[7] I bid., p.31.

The power of the serpent has also been very widely recognized in south India, especially on the Malabar Coast. Throughout the region Vaishnavite iconography gives an important place to the divine cobra sesha who shelters the sleeping Vishnu beneath his outstretched hood. In the domain of every day worship there are the ubiquitous nagas, protective earth spirits who also take the form of serpents.[8]

Apart from the two main groups of male and female power divinities there are also many lesser demonic beings including the army of invisible supernatural warriors (vīrans : a term denoting power and heroic valour) who attend figures like Aiyanar and Munisveran, and the violent and destructive spirits known as pēy –picācus who feed on human blood and on the violent passions of their living victims.[9] Women who die by sati (self immolation on their husband's funeral pyres) also came to be worshipped as power divinities in many parts of south India[10]

Eighteenth century south India then was still a land in which established 'present' communities overlapped and interacted often explosively – with groups who were only just beginning to adopt a sedentary agrarian life style. All the same, wherever settled villages were established, whether in the old river valley population centres or in the newly cultivated plains and forest uplands, the agrarian locality - the Tamil ūr or Malaiyali kara-tended to evolve into a ritual community, that is a miniature ordered cosmos with its own gods shrines and procession routes, and a set of recognized boundaries which were persecuted by fierce supernatural guardians such as Aiyanar and Karuppan.[11]

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[8] Ibid., p-32
[9] Ibid., p.33
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., pp.34-35

At festival time, especially during the festivals of the pre-eminent blood – taking Amman (goddess)whose shrine stood at a central point in the locality's main residential quarter, the village identified it self as a self – contained ritual unit. Once the worshippers and their ritualists had begun the rites- often by setting up a Karagam , the lime topped clay pot in which the deity resided during the festival no one was to enter or leave the village until all the rites had been safely concluded. These generally included processions with tērs and capparams, wheeled chariots and hand held plat forms on which the deities were brought out from their shrines and paraded through their worshipper's residential quarters.[12] The divinities who were honored and propitiated in these corporate rites were perceived both as dispellers of suffering and as figures of blood, terror and destruction.[13]

During visitations of Cholera and small pox pots of rice soaked with blood and entrails from the amman's buffalo sacrifice might be carried to the village boundaries, thus removing the illness from the village precincts; at the same time the goddesse's Karagam would be anointed unlimited with sandalwood paste and other sacred healing substances.[14]

During epidemics Village Washermen danced through their villages with the goddesses karagams on their heads; sheep were sacrificed, each locality's holy places were anointed with the sheep's blood, and the karagams were carried to the village boundaries and passed on to worshippers from nearby localities. The rites would then be repeated, each group striving to remove the affliction wrought by the goddess by transferring it ever onwards from locality to locality. These dancing washermen (members of the Vannan caste category in Tamilnadu) were among the many village

[12] Ibid.,pp.35-36
[13] Ibid., p. 36
[14] Ibid., p.37.

service people whose inherited occupational specializations involved the right and the obligation to act as ritualists in local festivals and domestic life-crisis rituals. Village barbers are also involved in the rituals surrounding birth, death and other 'life crises' Dependent labouring groups like the Malabar Cherumas and Tamil Paraiyans (a title which is supposed to derive from Tam. parai : drum) have had the task of removing animal corpses from the village precincts; They also perform the ritual drumming which is associated with possession rituals and trance dancing at south Indian Goddess festivals.[15]

Although much of the worship of Ammans and other 'demonic' deities took place at the level of the individual locality, it would be wrong to describe all the gods and goddesses of this tradition as 'village' deities Migrating warriors, cultivators and artisans carried their power divinities with them into new regions, and this helped to build up complex networks of interregional devotion and pilgrimage in South India. Often a particular deity would be taken up by a local notable and have a great new temple built in his honour: such a deity might acquire a large and wide – ranging constituency of worshippers extending far beyond the limits of anyone locality. Further more, while some shrines housed divinities who received worship from entire localities, many villages also contained the shrines of kulatevam or kin group tutelaries who worship usually transcended the boundaries of the individual village.[16] The knowledge of god raised them in mind and spirit, in habits and aims. Education expanded their capacities and Christian teaching led them by degrees along the path of honesty and truthfulness.[17]

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[15] Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India (7 Vols. Madras, 1909), VI, pp. 77-139.
[16] Susan Bayly, Op.cit., p. 39.
[17] Bishop Cardwell, Protestant Missions in India, p. 370.

Christianity at the advent of Caldwell :

The native Christians at the time of Caldwell's arrival were poor, unprogressive, and in places dwindling communities. In 1838, the native converts sneered at by the governing races as 'rice Christians' and disdained by the Brahmans and educated Hindus as a new low caste, begotten of ignorance and hunger.[18] In 1802the number of Christians in and around the villages (32) of Idaiyangudi were nearly 4500[19] There existed a Prayer House and school at Idaiyangudi[20]. C.T.E .Rhenius established a school at Idaiyankudi in 1821. There were 26 students studying in that school. After 1810 Tamil Nadu witnessed an epidemic fever, flood and severe famine resulted in the loss of thousands of lives. In Tirunelveli too there occurred a considerable decrease in Christian population. In 1828 the school at Tharuvai was closed. The number of students in Idaiyangudi school raised up to 40 in 1828.[21] As a result of the atrocities wrought by orthodox Hindus, land lords and officials of the government nearly 2000 Christians betrayed / denied their faith, in the adjacent villages such as Gundakal, Kārikoil, Pudur, Uvari, Navaladi and Itchangudi. Karnam, and Mirasudar overtaxed the Christians by 15%. When the Christians refused to pay that they filed false cases on the Upadesiar and some members of the congregation and imprisoned them at Palayamkottai and Madurai Prisons where they were treated harshly.[22]

In spite of the fact the people of Idaiyangudi, Pothakalanvilai and Kailasapuram did not deny Jesus.[23] In Idaiyangudi the church was built outside the village. Rev. David Rosen says that when he had gone to that village, the villagers took him to

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[18] Sir W.W. Hunter London Times Under date 19th October, 1891.
[19] D.A. Christadoss, Op.cit., p.35.
[20] Ibid., p.36.
[21] Ibid., p.39.
[22] Ibid., Op.cit., pp.40-41.
[23] R.S.Arulanandam, Thiruthonadar Caldwell (71) Uaga Ratchahar Publication, Palayamkottai,

the mission land situated in the middle of the village, and asked him to build a church there. He says that it was a big congregation. Further he states that there were ten Christian families in Pothakalanvillai, but they went to Idaiyangudi for service worship.[24]

In 1830 the number of Christians at Idaiyangudi and the surrounding villages was 1026.In 1835 Rev. Rosen divided Tirunelveli S.P.G. into 4 regions and placed them under the supervision of a chief upadesiar. They were Ukkirankottai 2) Nazareth 3) Mudalur and 4) Idaiyankudi Rosen was residing at Mudalur and supervised Mudalur and Idaiyangudi.[25] In 1839 when Rev. C.S. Kohlhoff and in 1840 Rev. G.Y. Heyne were the Missionaries of Mudalur. At that time Idaiyangudi and the surrounding villages did not function as a separate pastorate but as a part of Mudalur pastorate.[26]

Idaiyangudi had earlier come under the influence of Gericke[*] and Sathianathan[*]. But the early converts, with no adequate supervision, had relapsed into Hinduism. It was among the wreck of these once Christian Congregation that the Rev. Caldwell was sent (in 1841) by the society to labour together upto the fragments that remained and to bring back which was lost.[27] After the arrival of Caldwell, he and Rev. Heyne met and consulted each other and carved Idaiyangudi as a separate pastorate. At that time the members in that pastorate was 1283.[28]

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[24] D.A. Christadoss Op. cit., p.43.
[25] Ibid., pp.44 -45.
[26] R.S.Arulanadam, Op.cit. p. 10.
[*] C.W. Gericke was a German Missionary sent to serve at Tanjore. In 1802, Sundaranandam took Rev. Sathiyanathan of Tinnevelly and Rev. C.W. Gericke of Tanjore on a visit to the region of Karaichutru and baptised neary 5000 souls. (Rev. Christadoss, Caldwell Iyer, Op.cit., p. 83)
[*] Sathyanathan : Santhyanathan, the Palamcottah catehist, was ordained in Tanjore. He was a man of ability, who left his mark in the district. He was the first Native Minister ever located in Tinnevelly, and it was through him, as will be seen, that a Christian Movement among the *Shanars* commenced. (Bishop R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 215.)
[27] D.S.George Muller, Op.cit., p.1.
[28] D.A.Christadoss, Op.cit., p.46.

Holy Trinity Church at Idaiyangudi:

The church which was built by Rosen in 1829 was not big enough to accommodate the members. So Caldwell built another church and extended for five times, again and again. In this juncture Caldwell laid foundation for the big church in 1848, which the people of Idaiyangudi are using till date. Because of financial difficulties, it took 32 years for him to complete the construction work. A construction Corporation of London presented him with a plan of the church. He built it on a strong foundation. Construction work hampered at few feet above the foundation level owing to financial shortage or crisis. This wearied his eldest daughter Isabella. She wrote letters to her friends and known people of England, stating the Missionary services of her father and the critical condition of the construction of the church. Moved by her letter an old women sent $250. Equal to ` 2600/- at that time. Some other people too sent small/considerable amount. Napier the then Governor of the province of Chennai, who visited Idaiyangudi in 1868 startled at the beauty of the windows of the church, presented ` 500 for the construction work. Rev. Philip Ray and Gellibrand of England too sent considerable amount for the construction of the church. It was built under his personal supervision and own labour. Amidst all handicaps, the construction work was completed in 1880 after a period of 33 years. It was consecrated by him after he became the Bishop in Tinnevelly, on the 6th of July 1880. Apart from the members of the church, nearly 2000 non-christians participated in that service[29] for its dedication Caldwell translated the hymn, 'The Churche's one foundation since sung on thousands of such occasions[30]. The sermon was delivered by the C.M.S.* Bishop, Rt. Rev. Edward

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[29] R.S.Arulanandham,Op.cit., p.14-16.
[30] D.S.George Muller, Op.cit., pp-56-57.

Sargent. The first who was baptised in the church was Earnest son of Isabella (daughter of Caldwell) and J.L.Wyatt. The salient feature of the church is its four big tuning bells presented by one of the family members of Caldwell[31].

Christianity after Caldwell :

A renowned SPG station in the extreme South of Tirunelveli District was Idaiyangudi, the "Shepherded shire". So entirely a product of the labour of Caldwell with immense devotion and wisdom did Rev. Caldwell apply to himself to his task that his rewards were phenomenal. Entire villages accepted Christ Churches and schools were rising apace; and the Bishop of Hong Kong who visited Tirunelveli in 1853, pronounced Idaiyangudi to be a kind of model Christian settlement.[32] Caldwell succeeded in bringing large number of natives into the church and transforming the entire village. He was very eager to make acquaintances with poor people and children and know their mind; wherever and whenever he met poor people, he would converse with them without any difference.[33] The Christian missionaries are interested not only in the spiritual needs of the people but also the physical and social needs of them. Caldwell was not an exception on this regard. He played a vital role at a time of severe famine and when a dreadful fire torched several houses in his beloved Idaiyangudi. People do recognise such brotherly love and kindly actions[34]. Caldwell's efforts witnessed vast expansion of Christianity in the district of Tiruneveli. For more than fifty years Caldwell had been identified with this great work of humanity. The Christians prospered and their standard of living was raised on the eve of Caldwell's

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* CMS meaning Church Missionary Society. This Society was established in 1799 with an intention of propagating the Salvation of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles of Africa and eastern countries. (Rev.Sathianadhan, Op.cit., p.412.)

[31] R.S.Arulanandham, Op.cit., pp.

[32] D.S.George Muller, Op.cit., pp-56-57.

[33] International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics, Vol. xviii, No.1, January 1989, p.63.

[34] Mass Movement in Tirunelveli Church, p.6.

arrival to Tiruneveli, the number of Christians in the district was only six thousand. The census of 1881 disclosed the fact that the native Christians were increasing at four times the rate of the general population in British India during the same period. At the end of his service the number increased upto 100 thousand. In his funeral sermon at Kodaikanal (September 1891) it was stated that he had seen Christians in Tirunelveli increase from 6000 to 100,000[35] It was the rare of the rarest attempt / performance. When he started service the English made fun of Christians as rice Christians. Others despised them as defiled caste, originated from ignorance and hunger spread of education among native Christians by Caldwell's effort even shocked the heads of education, Department of the Government. The president of Education Department penned as follows; if education makes progress in this rate among Christians, they will possess chief places for themselves in their secular life. This progress was due to the rarest service of Caldwell.[36]

The proportion of the inhabitants of Tirunelveli who have embraced Christianity is larger than that of any other province in India. In many places entire villages have renounced their idols, and the movement in favor of Christianity was extending from village to village, and from caste to caste. In every district in the province, churches and schools and Missionary houses and model villages are rising apace, testimonies of the churches faith in expecting to possess the entire field.[37]

A large number of people lost their lives owing to the flood of 1869 never know before, and the recurrence of typhoid in the Idaiyangudi area. Moved by the needs of

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[35] W.W.Hunter, in London Times 19th October 1891.
[36] N.Kandasamy Pillai, Op.cit., 1958, p.129.
[37] Robert. L Hargrave, The Nadars of Tamilnadu, Oxford, 1969, pp.20-22

the people there, Caldwell established the Immanuel Hospital in 1870 with the assistance of Lord Napier the then Governor of the province Madras.[38]

Caldwell applied himself to his task that his rewards were phenomenal. Entire villages accepted Christ; Churches and schools sprang up so fast that Idaiyangudi soon became a model Christian Settlement.[39] The most part of the new Christians were drawn, from marginal groups the lower Castes, Bhill tribes, Anglo-Indians. Certainly the large accession to Christianity made by Caldwell, Wyatt and their colleagues were primarily among the lower castes of Tirunelveli, and the Shanars in particular. This was marvelously enhanced by Caldwell's work on local language and history, which helped to give the self confidence and cohesion stimulated the Tamil revival and the non-Brahmin Movement that followed.[40]

Catholic Missionaries

1.Xavier

Jeyakumar writes, 'Xavier arrived in India in 1542 and in less then ten years, he could claim between fifteen to twenty thousand converts among the oppressed classes, particularly the mukkuvas, a sub class of the parava community.[41] Francis Xavier arrived in India in 1542 and worked mainly among the paravas in the Tuticorin and adjoining coastal areas. He left India a decade later and the work was carried on through carious Roman Catholic, Missionaries.[42]

2. John De Britto (1647-1693)

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[38] D.A.Christadoss, Op.cit., p.169 & R.S.Arulanandam, Op.cit., p.26.
[39] A Review of S.P.G. Missionaries of Tirunelveli and Thoothukudi District-An article found in the proceedings of the 7th All India Conference of BCRC, E.James R.Daniel (ed.),2008, p.38.
[40] Dorcas Shanthini, Ibid.,p.6.
[41] Jeyakumar, Dalit consciousness and Christian Conversion, Op.cit., p.93,
[42] Frederick Norris (in his Christianity: A short Global History (Oxford: One world, 2002) p.150.

John De Britto was born in an aristocratic family of Portugal in 1647. He was elected to the Royal life and service. But he denied that. From his early age he was filled with an insatiate thirst to become a missionary for Hindus of India. He joined Jesuits Society in 1662. He came to Madurai in 1673. He adopted a life of Hindus of India. He joined Jesuit society in1662. He came to Madurai in 1673. He adopted a life a Hindu Sanyasi like Nobili. He was the cause for the redemption of Maravar Community of Madurai Region. He met with unspeakable torture and tribulation in the hands of the servants of the Sethupathi. He died a death of Martyr as a reward of his missionary service among Maravar Community.[43]

3.Beschi

Father Constantine Joseph Beschi popularly known as Beschi (1680-1741) was an Italian. He became an ascetic of Jesuits. He was well verse in Italian and Latin. He was sent to India in 1700. He made Madurai as his abode. Here he learnt Telugu, Sanskrit, Tamil and later Hindustani and Persian. He adopted a life of Hindu Sanyasi. He wrote many poems prose and lexicon. He was well known, for his popular poem 'Thempavani'. In 1742 he breathed last at Manappadu in Tirunelveli.[44]

4. Robert De Nobili

Robert De Nobili founded a Mission at Madura. He belonged to the Jesuit Congregation. To attract the people towards Catholicism (Popism) he used treacherous techniques which were not applicable to Christianity. Being found that Brahmins were the high caste, he acquired their attire and customs for their conversion. But in 1744,

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[43] D.A.Christudass Iyer, Indian Christian History (T1) Part I, The C.S.I Theological Series, Diocese of Tirunelveli, 1975, pp.111-125.

[44] Mayilai. Seeni. Venkatasamy, Kirithuvamum Tamizlum (TI) Meyyappan Thamil Aiyvaham, 53, Pudutheru, Chidambaram, pp.76-89.

Pope Benedict XIV knowing the treacherous teachings of Jesuits cancelled the Missions at Madurai and Carnataka[45].

Protestant Missionaries

1.Barthalomew Ziegenbalg

Presbyter Barthalomew Ziegenbalg (1683 – 1719) was a saxson (Pulsnitz) of Germany. He was a scholar of the University at Halle. He was sent to Tranqueba by King Frederic IV of Denmark. King Fredric IV sent him to preach for the Denmark traders of the Tranquebar and the native Tamils there, with the intention of giving religious instruction and to make them godly people. Ziegenbalg and his friend Plutscho reached Tranquebar on July 9 1709. He learnt Tamil with in eight months. He collected many Olai Suvadis and kept in a library. He read them or made others read for him. He was the first and foremost missionary who taught Protestantism in Tamil Nadu. He built churches and schools and translated Christian book in Tamil. He established a printing press in 1713 at Tranquebar. He was the first to supply printed books for commoners/ lay people.[46] He passed away on February 23rd 1719 at Tranquebar.

2. Schwartz

"The Most renown of all European Evangelicals in eighteenth century India, was Christian Fredric Schwartz[47]. He was another pietist from the University of Halle. He arrived at Tranquebar on July 30, 1750. Stephen Neill remarks: "Schwartz was

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[45] The Rev. C.T.Sathianadhan, Op.cit, p.377.

[46] Mayilai. Seeni Venkatasamy, Op.cit p. 89-97.

[47] Frykenberg, "India, (in A. Hastings),p.176. There is an excellent discussion of Schwartz in the concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission by H.W.Gensichen, pp.541 – 542.

without doubt the greatest of all the Tranquebar Missionaries. Yet, it is a little difficult to put this greatness into words"[48]. His linguistic capabilities were astonishing. Frykenberg writes that he was, "Fluent in Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Persian, Sanskrit, Portuguese and European tongues, both modern and classical[49]. Like Neill his life long celibacy afforded him the opportunity for this type of rigorous learning. Both Neill and Gibbs refer to this idea. Schwartz was the founder of the Tirunelveli Church. It was he who baptized Clarinda in 1778 at Palayamkottai. He served until his death in 1798 without once returning to Europe. He was the guardian of Prince Serfojee of Tanjore and later his Dewan. The range of his missionary labours was amazing-extending almost all over South India[50].

3. Schaffter (1842 -1923)

Rev. H.J. Schaffter was the son of Rev. P.P. Schaffter. Though an European was born in India in 1842. He came to Ireland to get education and returned to India and CMS college (The Tirunelveli Schaffter School) was founded by him. For 40 years he served as its Principal. He breathed his last and buried at Kodaikanal[51].

4. Rhenius

Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius was a German Missionary sent to Palamcottah. Rhenius proved an exceptional ability to rapidly learn the indigenous languages and he was able to build on the church then existed. By 1826 Rhenius had supervised the construction of a Renaissance-style church. He made schools mandatory in every Christian village. He proved to be an effective leader. He died on June 5,

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[48] Stephen Neill, A History of Christianity in India, 1707 – 1758, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p.45.
[49] Frykenberg, Op.cit., p.176.
[50] D.S.Georgemuller, Birth of Bishopric, p.6.
[51] Hand Book of Schaffter Higher Secondary School, Tirunelveli Town, 2009, pp. 9-12.

1838. Rhenius's name enjoyed popular assent as the third founder of the church in Tinnelvelly, the "apostle to Tinnelvelly and a "Prince in Israel"[52].

5. Rev. Charles Mead

London Mission Society sent Rev. Charles Mead to continue the Missionary services left by Ringle Taube in 1817. For about 55 years he labored for the life and development of the people of Kumari. Rev. Mead founded a seminary in 1819 at Nagercoil and imparted English Education. In 1820 Rev. Mead founded a school to impart industrial education. Printing and Binding of books was taught there[53].

6. Rev. Charles Mault

Rev. Charles Mault, a missionary of the London Mission Society was from Shropshire Society. His wife belonged to the family of Oliver Cromwell. They came to India in 1818 and settled in Nagercoil. He established a Female Boarding school there. Their elder daughter Eliza was married to Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell on the 20th of March 1844[54].

7. Rev. Samuel Mettir

Rev. Samuel Mettir was a missionary of Travancore Province. He wrote a book called The Land of Charity. In that book he depicted tragic scene of famine and plague

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[52] Rev. Dyron B. Daughrity, A brief History of Missions in Tirunelveli (Part one), pp.11-12.
[53] Ibid,p23.
[54] J.L.Wyatt,Op.cit p.180.

stricken area in the year 1860. He says that he was praying that his eyes should not witness such a tragic scene once again[55].

8. Rev. G.U. Pope

Pope Iyer was a native of England. On behalf of Wesleyan Mission he did religious service in Tamil Nadu since 1839. At Sawyerpuram in Tirunelveli he established a seminary. Then he shifted to Tanjore and to Ootacamund. At last in 1882 he left for England and served as a secretary of S.P.G. in Manchester, and then as a Tamil Professor at Oxford University. In 1894 he was in receipt of the laureate D.D. from the Bishop of Canterbury. His fame lies in translation work of Thiruvasaham from Tamil into English. He published many religious pamphlets too[56].

9. Edward Sargent

Edwar Sargent (1815-1889) was a stalwart of C.M.S The history of Edward Sargent is the history of Church Missionary Society of Tirunelveli[57]. As a lay missionary he lived and served at Palayamkottai. He held intact the schools and churches established by Rev. Rhenius. As an ordained missionary his first station in Tirunelveli was Suvishesapuram and later Palayamkottai. Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell remarks, that Bishop Sargent had a perfect knowledge of Tamil which he spoke as fluently as a native, and was also thoroughly familiar with native ideas. . He was one of the twin stars consecrated to the Episcopal office on March 1877 and served as C.M.S. Bishop, Assistant to the Bishop of Madras. Another star was Bishop Dr.Robert Caldwell who served as S.P.G. Bishop.

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[55] Proceedings of the 5th All India Conference, of BCRC, 2006, Editor E.James R.Daniel, pp.110 & 43.
[56] Mayilai Seeni Venkatasamy Op.cit pp. 104,105.
[57] The Madras Mail, October 1889 & Rev.J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., pp.104-105.

Both of them met often and their intercourse was often pleasant and Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell benefitted much, Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell maintained a Cordial relationship with Bishop Sargent till Sargent's death in 1889.

Margoschis Iyer

Caldwell During his furlough (England) in 1875 delivered many sermons in Parishes and conducted meetings in Universities such as Cambridge and Oxford. In one such meetings for students at London, he talked about the needs of mission field in India. Moved by his speech a youth of 22 years (Final year Medical Student) dedicated himself for the Lord's Mission in India. That was none other than Arthur Margoschis. He was born at Lamington in England on December 24th 1852. He had his theological studies at Canterbury St.Augustin College. He had his missionary training under Caldwell (November 1875 to November 1876) and learnt Tamil from him. He was appointed to serve at Nazareth in 1876. He was ordained as a priest in 1880 by Bishop Sargent. Since his childhood he was not healthy. He was asthmatic but was a keen intelligent person. He was firm in his endeavours. Along with his missionary service, he had to serve in Nazareth Hospital. The Congregation of Nazareth and the hospital connected with it improved during his days. He established schools for children and also an Industrial school. SPG Mission developed a lot during his period. Margoschis died on 27th April 1908[58].

Caldwell – G.U. Pope relations:

Caldwell records that he met George Uglow Pope (G.U.Pope) at Madras in 1839. G.U.Pope arrived in Tirunelveli in 1842 in connection with the Society for the

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[58] D.A.Christadoss I Year, Nazareth Mission History (Tl), Bethel Publishers, 1950, pp.164-180, same authors, Bishop Caldwell, p.180.

propagation of the Gospel. He was appointed to serve at Sawyerpuram. He set himself for the founding of congregations and schools. He started a “Seminary” at Sawyerpuram for the training up of Native Agents in the higher learning[59]. Caldwell sent his own students to this seminary to be trained as native agents and catechists. Caldwell praised his varied abilities and accomplishments’, and described him as a ‘conspicuous exception’ among the Englishmen who ‘cared to acquire any more than a colloquial knowledge of Tamil’.[60] In May 1844, Eliza Caldwell started a girls boarding school at Idaiyangudi. G.U. Pope had a more positive view of the school. In appreciation he wrote as follows, ‘Among the institutions of more recent date in the diocese, which are eminently calculated to raise and improve the social condition of the people, a school for the education of native girls, under the superintendence of Mr. Caldwell, deserves honorable mention[61]. This shows that a cordial relationship prevailed between Caldwell and G.U.Pope.

G.U.Pope was Caldwell’s mission contemporary. For Caldwell, Pope as a Tamil Scholar was a ‘conspicuous exception’ among English men, and they developed a mutual respect in regard to their scholarly work. Caldwell acknowledged Pope’s valuable help in the preface to the second edition of his Grammar Similarly, Pope cited Caldwell as among those who contributed to the advancement of knowledge of Tamil culture.[62]

Caldwell – Margoschis Controversy:

As we mentioned earlier Margoschis dedicated himself for the Lord’s Service on hearing the message of Caldwell at home (England). He had his missionary training

[59] J.L.Wyatt, Op.cit., p.58.
[60] Y.Vincent Kumaradoss, Op.cit., p.18.
[61] Ibid., p.60.
[62] Ibid., p.143.

under Caldwell at Idaiyangudi. Inspite of the fact, a strained relationship creeped between them echoed in many circumstances. Ex.

i) As we mentioned earlier, huge protest raised against the work of Caldwell on Shanars Y.Gnanamuthu Nadar, a native of Nazareth, a Shanar Christian clerk in Tirunelveli courts, raised a banner of protest[63]. Caldwell suspected the complicity of Margoschis, the missionary in Nazareth-with whom Caldwell had a strained relationship-in encouraging such 'Characters.'[64]

ii) Margoschis's public announcement of a plan for a high school at Nazareth, virtually as a rival to Caldwell College and the Sawyerpuram Institution[65]. Caldwell argued that this was setup in order to stop sending girls to the first and the only SPG Normal School at Trichinopoly. While large reductions have been made or threatened in the grants of the failure of the MDC to Caldwell college on the ground of the failure of funds, the rival High School was sanctioned (January 1887) and opened in direct opposition to the 'express will of Caldwell'[66]

iii) Since because Sharrock was most closely linked to Caldwell and his projects, Margoschis roused against Sharrock for Margoschis, Sharroc was always supported by Caldwell, was the chief source of trouble and his presence in Tirunelveli was the cause of dissensions. Margoshis repeated by appealed to the MDC for the removal of Sharrock.[67] MDC

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[63] Y.Vincent Kumara doss, Op.cit., p.200.
[64] Ibid., p. 205.
[65] Ibid., p. 254.
[66] Ibid., pp. 254-55.
[67] Ibid., pp. 255-57.

dismissed Sharrock as a result of the prolonged conspiracy hatched out by Margoschis. The MDC and Margoschis pursued their game with undiminished vigour, intent now on crippling the progress of Caldwell college and Eliza's schools[68].

iv) Eliza applied to MDC for the recognition of her female Training college at Tuticorin. But MDC passed a resolution that they were unable to recognise the institution or undertake its future expenditure. But at the same time it sanctioned a female normal school at Nazareth on the demand of Margoschis.[69] Thus Margoschis joined hands with MDC, his proximity with that served as a stumbling block to the efforts of Caldwell and Eliza, forgetting the fact that he was trained up by Caldwell to the mission field.

v) Finally MDC succeeded in closing down the first rate college of Caldwell at Tuticorin, which hastened the demise of Caldwell. This incident was also connected with Caldwell Margoschis controversy.[70]

The Clorinda Church

In February 1778 Schwartz was called to Palayamkottai by a European Officer (Colonel Littleton) who wished to be married and who informed him also that there was a number of children to be baptised. The congregation in Palayamkottai now numbered

[68] Ibid., p. 263.
[69] Ibid., p.268-69.
[70] D.A.Christadoss, Op.cit., pp.266-268.

about fifty-evidence of the strength of the Christian movement in places further north, from which these soldiers and their families had migrated[71].

In the meantime there was an occurrence of Sati at Tanjore. A Maratha Brahmin woman by name Kohila was saved from the funeral pyre of her husband. The British Military Officer named Colonel Littleton was responsible for that and he brought her to Palayamkottai under his custody[72]. He gave her some instructions in the Christian faith and taught her English also. After his death she was baptised by Schwartz, receiving in baptism the name Clorinda. She became the first Christian of Tirunelveli District. Including Clorinda the number of converts were forty on that day. From that day onwards Christianity began to grow. For a number of years she was one of the great pillars of the Christian movement in the Tirunelveli District[73]. It is usual to take the year 1780 as the starting point of the recorded history of the Tirunelveli church. For it was by then that the earliest church in Palayamcottah took an organised shape. Bishop Caldwell discovered in Tanjore the first Palaymcottah church Register of 1780, which lists 40 names that of Clorinda heading the list[74]. With the help of English Officers a small church was built in or close to the fort, and became generally known as Clorinda's Church[75]. It will be surprising to note that the main person responsible to build the oldest protestant church at Palayamkottai was a Hindu (convert) lady (Clorinda).

Opposition to Conversion

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[71] Stephen Neill, A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p. 53.
[72] R.S. Arulanandam, Op.cit., p. 9.
[73] Ibid., Stephen Neill, Op.cit., pp. 53-54.
[74] D.S. George Muller, Birth of Bishopric, Op.cit., p. 9.
[75] Stephen Neill, Op.cit., p. 54.

The enlightened Christian holds that personal freedom of choice on the basis of conviction should be within the reach of anyone, who sincerely wishes to pass from of one form of religious faith to another. Hinduism knows no such tolerance. A man becomes a Hindu by birth; there is no other way by which he can become a Hindu. Any Hindu at who becomes a Muslim or Christian is therefore once expelled from his caste. Even if his relations would like to keep him in their home, they can hardly do so, since they would then share in his defilement. On the lower levels of society it was sometimes possible for converts to remain at home; among the higher castes this could hardly be considered a possibility. The missionaries did not feel that they could desist from their aim of making all men one in Christ, they hoped that the opposition they aroused would grow less with the spread of enlightenment[76].

The conversion of young people of good standing to the Christian faith continued to perplex Hindu society. Hindus had the utmost difficulty in believing that anyone could genuinely be converted from the religion in which he had to be born to another. They could not but suppose that the missionaries here used underhand methods of one kind or another to secure the appearance of conversion[77].

Not unnaturally the relatives of converts, having failed to obtain what they regarded as justice in the courts, at times decided to take matters into their own hands and forcibly to remove young Christians from the care of those who had given them protection.

The first known case of the kind was recorded in The Friend of India for August 1835. A young enquirer named Ram Ratan Mukerji had taken refuge in the house of a missionary of the CMS, the Reverend J. Haberlin. A Crowd of Hindus forcibly entered

[76] Ibid., p. 375.
[77] Ibid., p. 376.

the house, pushed Haberlin on one side and carried of the young man. Missionaries were usually extremely reluctant to take legal action, even in the face of aggression. In this case no action was taken, the kidnapping was successful, and nothing was ever heard again of Ramratan[78].

After the period of Ringletaube the German Missionary to Tirunelveli started the dark age of the church of Tirunelveli (1810-1816). During that period many Christians renounced their faith due to the atrocities of Hindus, Government officials and wealthy land lords[79]. In 1843 Caldwell wrote that he had given advice to the Upadesis (preachers) to tackle the problems and troubles created by Hindus of the respective villages[80].

In 1840-41 conversion was wide spread in Tirunelveli region, The Hindus who could not tolerate that, assembled at Tiruchendur and started 'Vibuthisangam'. The members of that sangam resolved. to persecute Christians and to make them renounce Christianity and to prevent people becoming Christians. As they determined, they attacked and oppressed the church of Eral and marched towards the south and persecuted many churches and then they reached Meignanapuram and Nazareth with mega plan to attach Christians there. But their plan was thwarted by the timely effort of Camerar of Nazareth. He sought the help of the collector, who imprisoned and punished the head of the enemies. This was known as Eral Persecution[81].

In November 1845 Nallur witnessed a persecution similar to that of Eral persecution. Thousands of Hindus gathered under the leadership of Azhahappa Nadar attacked CMS people of Nallur plundered and fired their houses. Some Christian

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[78] Ibid., p. 380.
[79] D.A. Christadoss, Op.cit., p. 38.
[80] Ibid., p. 63.
[81] Ibid., pp.67-68.

women were raped. Thus they made many to renounce their faith. But that was suppressed by the district collector. But Caldwell of Idaiyangudi, Thomas of Meignanapuram, Camerar of Nazareth and Sargent of Suvishesapuram prevented the spread of such persecution in their respective areas[82].

Another thing which evinced interest in him to write the church History was as follows, Caldwell happened to read the Madras Christian Intelligencer vol. ii) p.201, 1845 he noticed the anxiety, expressed by Arch Deacon short land, the then secretary of Madras Diocesan Council (MDC) of Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK)[83] and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts (SPG).[84] In that he expressed his desire for the compilation of a history of that kind by Missionaries during their leisure hours / whenever they could find time. Otherwise the memory of the Missionaries such as Gericke, Jaenicke, Schwartz and their native helpers Sathianadhan, Viswasanadan and Abraham would have faded away[85]. He felt the urgency of the work. When Caldwell happened to read this, his inner man, already filled with such ability, started working Mr. James Hough wrote a book titled *History of Christianity in India*. For that he consulted some of the records. But many interesting records were not known to him. Because it was not his intention to publish records and document[86]. Moreover History of Tinnevelly was a micro study included in his

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[82] Ibid., p.77.

[83] SPCK – Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: In the end of 17th century Church of England started a Society known as Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1698. It was aimed at 1) Promoting education among poor people. 2) To write and propagate small books on ethics. 3) Helps to propagate Christian truth in far off / own countries. (The Rev. W.T. Sathianadhan, A Sketch of Church History from the first to the Present Century, Madras, The religious Tract and Book Society. 1910, p.

[84] S.P.G : Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts was established in 1701, belonged to the church of England. Its foremost aim was to propagate Christianity to the countries ruled by England especially to Indu Desam. (The Rev. W.T. Sathianadhan, Op.cit., p. 404.

[85] R. Caldwell, Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of Society for promoting Christian knowledge and the society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Madras, 1881, pp. 1-2.

[86] Ibid., p. 1.

extensive work. One may not expect an indepth study of Tinnevelly in his extensive work, *History of Christianity in India*. Though few records were published in various Missionary periodicals and biographies, they lacked chronological order / arrangement. Many of them were missed then. So Caldwell attempted to arrange them in an order and to publish them so as to enable the reader to know the history of the early missions.

Caldwell collected manuscripts and letters in English and Tamil and gave a chronological order to make it interesting and informative[87]. For he pointed to the Christian world, several interesting achievements both spiritual and temporal, otherwise might have been missed. He gave a fresh life to the missions by venturing a task like this. His book was entitled as Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This book contained 356 pages, and was published in 1881. Writing was not new to him. He had already published two books earlier to this. They were his magnum opus A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Languages and The History of Tinnevelly. The striking feature is that his third book was exclusively a religious one, where else the former two were secular in nature. His aim as, he himself explained, was to collect and preserve all those records, many of them in manuscripts, which seemed to throw light on the early history of so interesting a mission but, which seemed likely to disappear, and be forgotten[88]. Caldwell had a peculiar interest in depicting the progress of Christianity in Tirunelveli, in particular, because of its ‘greater and rapid expansion than in many other provinces of India[89]. He attempted to bring about the life history and mission history of the various societies such as C.M.S., S.P.C.K. and S.P.G; their

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[87] Ibid., p. 2.

[88] Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, Op.cit., p. 163.

[89] R. Caldwell, Records, Introduction. C.MS – Church Mission Society : Church Mission Society was established in 1799 with an intention of propagating the Salvation of Jesus Christ to the gentiles of Africa and eastern countries. (Rev. Sathianadhan, Op.cit., p. 412.)

missionaries, Bishops, native and foreign clergy, catechists, congregations, educational institutions, etc.

The book has 11 chapters and 3 appendices. Chronological arrangement can be noticed in the book by the reader. He has given every importance to accuracy. He collected very carefully the materials and scrutinized them so as to give accurate information. Let us now have a glance of C.M.S., S.P.C.K., and S.P.G. societies. The Church Mission Society sent out two Lutheran Missionaries to Tinnevelly in 1820; the S.P.G. entered the field in 1826. These two bodies have since then practically divided the district between them. It is not too much to say that apart from the religious aspect of the case, their labours have produced a social and economical revolution in the condition of the low castes and remnants of the aboriginal races[90].

Rev. Schwartz worked on behalf of Danish Halle Mission[91] in Tranquebar and Tanjore since 1750. In his late 20 years, he joined the society for the promotion of Christian knowledge on behalf of the church of England. He established congregations in Tirunelveli and Ramnad Districts[92].

Persons coming to Trichinopoly on business sometimes got converted and returned home as Christians got converted and returned home as Christians. It was through such migrations of individuals that our church in Tinnevelly had its beginnings. The Trichinopoly Baptism Register records on August 10, 1770, the baptism of

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[90] D.A. Christadoss, Op.cit., p. 313.

[91] Danish Mission : The Danes of Denmark established their society at Tranquebar. From there, their congregation spread / extended upto Tanjore, Trichy and Ramanathapuram. Like other Europeans, Danes also came to trade with India. They founded a small trading company at Tranquebar in Tanjore District. Tranquebar was estate them by the king of Tanjore in 1621. Daniesh Mission was founded /established by the devout King Frederic IV in 1705. The first two missionaries of that Mission was Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Pluschan of Germany (Rev.V. Henry Packianathan, Tirunelveli Church Bicentinary 1780-1980, Chapter I, p. iv).

[92] D.A. Christadoss, Life History of Bishop Sargent, Tirunelveli, 1990, p. 2.

Laxmanana 20 year old youth from Tinnevelly, as Gnanaprakasam[93]. F.J. Western and D.A. Christadoss too mention the above mentioned fact as follows.

The church of Tirunelveli came into existence on August 10th, 1770. Laxmanan Vellala had been to Trichinopoly on business. There he heard the Gospel from the preachers of Rev. Schwartz and became a believer. He was baptised on August 10th, 1770 receiving the name Gnanaprakasam[94]. With this incident the church was established in Tirunelveli.[95]

In the 20s of the 19 century, SPG society was not strong enough. Economical condition was deplorable. The Missionaries who were sent by the society were not able to withstand the climate and not competent. They were few in number. There was no hope for improvement and betterment. In 1825 the SPG society accepted to take the ministry of SPCK. Even then they could not send even a single Missionary upto 1829. Only in 1829, they sent Rev. David Rosan as their first Missionary to Tirunelveli.[96] LMS, CMS[97], SPCK and SPG were some important societies sent Missionaries to India for proselytizing. The London Missionary Society appointed the Scottish Caldwell to their mission in Madras[98]. Then he made up his mind to join the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Gospel[99]. He received ordination at the hands of Bishop Spencer[100].

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93 Ibid. and Rev. V. Henry Packianathan, Nellai Thiruchabai Irunoorandu Carithiram, 1780-1980, p. v.
94 D.S. George Muller, Birth of a Bishopric, Op.cit., p. 6.
95 F.J. Western, Early History of the Tirunelveli Church, p. 44, D.A. Christadoss, Life of Bishop Sargent, Palayamkottai, 1990, p. 3, Same authors. Life of Caldwell, p. 32, and Clorinda, pp. 36-37.
96 D.A. Christadoss, Op.cit., p. 20.
97 LMS - London Mission : London Mission Society was established / founded in 1795. It aimed at propagating Christianity to the barbarians of Southern Islands. It sent priests to many countries including India, especially they had a good mission field at Thiruvithancode. They had a seminary at Nagercoil. (Rev. W.T.SAthinanadhan, Op.cit., pp. 412 & 441-442.
98 J. L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p.9.
99 Ibid., p. 63.
100 Ibid., p. 67.

At Tanjore Caldwell met Mr. Kohlhoff, the pupil and successor of Schwartz. He was the last Missionary of the Society for the propagation of Christian Knowledge. After him the Mission had been transferred to the care of SPG[101]. An account of the Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1881) by the Right Recovered Reverend R. Caldwell, D.D.L.L.D., Assistant to the Right Reverend the Lord, Bishop of Madras, Honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society, Fellow of the Madras University, Madras Higginbotham and Co. By appointment in India to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and to the Madras University in 1881 is given in the Review[102].

The valuable store-house of knowledge, regard to the most Southernly of our Indian Protestant Missions and useful addition to the literature of Indian Missions has just come to hand. With its full table of contents and index and the orderly arrangement of its materials collected, we are very sure by much persevering diligence, enlightened and experienced judgement, and much devoted sacrifice of loving labour, the book cannot fail to be highly praised by all who are interested in the rise and progress of the Tinnevelly Mission. Commencing with a native female convert bearing points of resemblance to her who was the first convert of Europe as recorded in Act xvi(16), it had in 1780 only 40 converts (whose, names are still presented in an ancient register), it had in 1878 upwards of 20,000 baptised, including communicants, in addition, to 15,220 unbaptised adherents.

In due course CMS and SPG became more powerful and influential than the other societies. In the middle of the 19th century a spiritual revival which was known as

[101] Ibid., p.71.
[102] Indian Evangelical Review of April 1881, p. 502.

the Oxford movement occurred. Many of the ardent supporters of SPG belonged to this movement. Moreover; Most of the members of MDC also were aggressive High Church men so they expected the missionaries of SPG to be High Church men. Rev. Adamson introduced High Churchmen's rituals (Ex. Genuglexion) first in Sawyerpuram amidst the opposition of the congregation, then in Nazareth with the help of Margoschis. CMS Missionaries such as Sargent, Ducklas, Kampher and Stores were considered as low Churchmen. CMS Missionaries vehemently condemned the SPG Missionaries and their rituals as servants of Roman Catholicism. After 1789, hatred and bitterness started growing between the two societies of Missionaries (CMS and SPG). It went upon the level of the funny saying that CMS horse would not eat SPG grass[103].

Sargent championed the cause of CMS and guarded it against SPG rituals. But Caldwell, though condemned by MDC as an Evangelical, he tried to pacify the opponents of new rituals and settled the matters amicably. He established cordial relations between the congregation and the Missionaries and introduced High Churchmen rituals in Idaiyangudi and Radhapuram[104]. This was the reality of the situation.

In the Tamilian context, it may be said to be a sectarian struggle between the Saivites and the Vaishnavites. They used to ridicule each other but maintain friendly relations. Still then CMS Sargent and SPG Caldwell maintained good friendship; they loved each other and helped each other. In the consecration ceremony, Bishop Gell referred to them as "the double stars". The double stars are separated . . . Yet they do not part from each other altogether, but attract one another and each contributed to maintain their planets in equilibrium and order". So also the ministries of Sargent and

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[103] J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p.189.

[104] D.A. Christadoss, Op.cit., pp. 225-228 and the same author's Life History of Bishop Sargent, Op.cit., p.8.

Caldwell had been so closely intertwined. After becoming Bishops also they both maintained the most cordial relationship until Bishop Sargent died in 1890[105]. Another example of the existence of cordial relations between CMS and SPG could be cited here. In the Centenary celebration of Tinnevelly Mission in 1880 January 20th Rev. V. Vedanayagam of Vagaikulam made a brief speech. In that he remarked that the great societies carrying on mission work in Tinnevelly were one in the great object they had in view, and states that he himself brought up at Idaiyangudi and now labouring in the C.M.S shows the mutual help the societies were to each other[106]. Yet another example of the cordial relationship between C.M.S and SPG missionaries such as Caldwell and Sargent could be had from the words of Sargent himself. On the centenary celebration Bishop Sargent made a speech at last. He made a touching allusion to the long period that Bishop Caldwell and he had been permitted to labour side by side in the work of consolidating and extending the Native Church.[107]

The progress of Christianity in Tinnevelly was greater and more rapid than in other provinces of India. The early history was also interesting. Caldwell hoped that the missionaries of his period would be glad to know the origin and the various links in the chain of events which led to its prosperity. Certainly the records he could procure would be useful to the missionaries and the church workers in their mission[108].

After reading many records, letters and accounts of the missions, he came to a conclusion that it was in 1780, the first congregation was originated in Tirunelveli. He convinced Bishop Sargent with ample evidences. So they determined to celebrate the first (centenary celebration on January 20; 1880, at the Holy Trinity Church,

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[105] D.S. George Muller, Op.cit, p. 8.
[106] Rev. J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 156.
[107] Ibid.
[108] R. Caldwell Records, Op.cit., p. 1.

Palayamkottai. The Bishop of Madras was invited to the celebration. Bishop Caldwell and Sargent, two native chaplains, all the European Missionaries and native clergy of both the Societies (C.M.S & S.P.G) attended the meeting. At the end of the meeting Bishop Caldwell read an interesting historical summary of the progress of Christianity in Tirunelveli in English. Afterwards, Rev. D. Samuvel of Idaiyangudi read the Tamil 'translation of the same[109].

Caldwell in his Appendix II gives a detailed account of the instructions issued by the Christian Knowledge Society to their Indian Missionaries in 1735. The Missionaries had to observe those instructions in discharging their respective duties / functions. A Missionary must possess the characteristic features according to ITM 3:2 & Titus 1:7. All the Missionaries would consult together in the most friendly manner upon all affairs relating to the work. They had to conduct weekly General Conference to catechists and school masters. It suggested a friendly behaviour of the missionaries towards each other, brotherly love and respect to one another due to seniors and juniors. Of the ministerial function of a Missionary and care and diligence incumbent on him for the discharge of it,

1. He should be a Minister of the Gentiles; he must dedicate himself entirely to the service of the Gentiles and the new converts. He must be impartial and always at their disposal with caution.

2. If there were several missionaries, the whole business and affairs should be properly distributed among themselves.

3. As soon as a new missionary arrived to Madras, he must immediately learn the native language.

[109] Rev. J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 156.

4. The catechizing of children or other people must be shared among senior, junior missionaries and school masters.

5. Every Missionary must be ready to give sermon before the congregation whenever situation arouse. He must prepare the sermon with serious meditations and fervent prayers.

6. The chiefest functions of Missionaries was to converse with the 'heathens'.

7. Periodic visit to strengthen their belief and faith in Jesus.

8. A missionary should avoid unnecessary journeys.

9. They should not employ servants, if at all there are any servants, they must be taught to become true Christians. The servants of the mission were to be hired and dismissed. They enforced this to ensure good morals.

10. The education of children and well ordering of the schools, is what the Missionaries must have most at heart, and tend with their utmost care and diligence. Missionaries must show tender and parental affection towards the children.

11. To handle money they had to choose a Treasurer, who had to receive and disburse money and should submit a report of the same every 6th month. He should not take any decision himself but in consultation and consent of his Co-Missionaries.

12. No Missionary could print and publish any book on his own account but that as subjected to the permission of the special conference.

13. These instructions were to be read in the special Conference at Madras every year. These instructions would be communicated to new Missionaries as soon as their arrival.

APPENDIX[110] CONSISTED OF THE INSTRUCTIONS OF SPG TO ITS MISSIONARIES ISSUED IN 1706 PRIOR TO SPCK[111]

INSTRUCTIONS TO CLERGY

1. During their voyage they had to become remarkable examples of piety and virtue to the ships company;

2. They had to conduct morning and evening prayer and preaching every Lords day;

3. Whenever they got opportunity they had to instruct exhort, admonish and reprove the Co-voyagers. Upon their arrival in the country;

4. They should always kept the design of their undertaking in mind i.e., to promote the salvation of men by propagating the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour;

5. Their qualifications viz a sound knowledge, hearty belief of the Christian religion, Apostolical zeal, prudence and constancy;

6. To obtain qualifications they had to offer fervent prayers, read Holy scriptures and reflect upon their ordination vows;

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[110] R. Caldwell, Records, Op.cit., pp. 340.
[111] Ibid., p. 342.

7. They must become genuine Missionaries from this church (SPG) by following the doctrine of the Church of England, its worship and discipline;

8. In order to preserve their flock, they had to make them masters in the controversies,

9. They must be Christians unblameable and should not offend others in word or deed;

10. Whatever family they lodge they should persuade them to join with them in morning and evening prayers;

11. They must be contended with the available and healthy meals;

12. They must be frugal as against luxury and liberal and charitable;

13. They should not offend the civil government by involving themselves in affairs out of their own calling and functions; and

14. They had to maintain a brotherly (bondage) acquaintance with one another and to ensure this they had to meet at intervals for mutual advice and assistance[112].

SPCK had given elaborate instructions covering all aspects, i.e characteristic features of missionaries, their functions, powers, good morals, administration of Church, schools and finance, evangelism among heathens, publication of books, etc.

SPG had given a clear cut and simple instructions of the clergy during their voyage and after arrival, had given much importance to personal behaviour and purity.

[112] Ibid., pp. 347-348.

A brief sketch of the authors birth, arrival of India (Chennai) till the beginning of his Evangelical mission in the mission field at Idaiyangudi[113] is also given. In the concluding remarks Caldwell expressed his thoughts and feelings, that he had done the work of a collector and editor. It seems that he did not give any impression of his own, on the contrary he allowed the reports, letters and other documents to speak for themselves[114]. With utmost care and labour he had collected information so as to enable the reader to have first hand information. He gave freedom to the reader to form his own conclusions. He hoped that the future Church would attain enormous growth and the native educated Christians would find it interesting to know the first beginnings of their community. He laid foundation for future investigations. He hoped that the future church will be benefited much from this Records. He expected the future generation to carry on his work along the path he has treaded with. He hoped that the future researcher need not invest pains taking labour to collect information. Because published reports and journals are available within their reach[115]. He remarked that the future would excel the past and the Native Church would shine in both the spheres that is temporal and spiritual. He wholeheartedly confessed that the fault finders might find some defects in his work. He never bothered about such people. But Gods servant's would find it interesting and could preserve and utilize them.[116]

COMPARISON

The Rev. W.T. Sathianadhan while writing his *A Sketch of Church History from the First to the Present Century* in Tamil, has followed the method of Caldwell in his

[113] Ibid., p. 330.
[114] Ibid., p. 331.
[115] Ibid., p. 332.
[116] Ibid., pp. 330-333.

presentation of Table of Contents. The slight difference that could be noticed is that Rev. Sathianadhan did not number the points in the contents. But what he had given in the content he used as side headings inside the chapter like Caldwell.

Caldwell did an intensive study of the Church of Tinnevelly alone whereas Rev. Sathianadhan's work was one of extensive. It is an international Church History and also it covers period from the first century A.D. to the 19th century A.D. Caldwell's micro study is limited to only two centuries only from latter 18th century to early 19th century. Rev. Sathianadhan was a contemporary of Caldwell. He died one year latter than Caldwell (February 1892). He published his macro Church History book before that of Caldwell's i.e. in 1870[117]. He got opinions from 6 missionaries other than Caldwell. This method was not followed by Caldwell. Like Caldwell he also got inspiration from a small book published in English in 1864. Reports, magazines and some small books published prior to his book served as his source. His Church History is intertwined with political History, Century wise history is given in it. After each chapter he has given some questions to recapitulate what the reader has read sofar. He attached 3 appendices, in a brief manner. His fourth appendice is in the form of Index. Index is an elaborate one. According to Rev. Sathianadhan Church Missionary Society was established in 1799[118]. In 1814 only, they established their mission in South India[119]. Congregations of SPCK joined S.P.G in 1826[120]. He made a mention of Caldwell's consecration as Bishop at Calcutta took place in 1876. But Caldwell marked that it took place only in 1877, March[121]. He has given only a birds eye view of Caldwell.

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[117] Rev. W.T. Sathianadhan, Op.cit., p. xi.
[118] Ibid., p. 442.
[119] Ibid., p. 443.
[120] Ibid., p. 445.
[121] Rev. J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 165.

Rev. F.J. Western wrote a book entitled the *Early History of the Tirunelveli Church*. It seems that the author was aware of Caldwell's Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission. In his introduction he appreciated the work of Caldwell. At the same time, he did not fail to point out the short comings of Caldwell's book.

Appreciations :

1. Caldwell used valuable unpublished materials which were not available during his period (age).
2. The successors of Caldwell would be benefited much from his works.

Shortcomings:

1. Caldwell could not use some primary sources.

2. He did not touch the history of C.M.S. But his second flaw could be brushed aside by Caldwell's title of the book i.e., *The Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Missions of the SPCK and SPG*. Title, itself shows that he had nothing to do with CMS. So to do away with the defect, F.A Western tried to bring out the history of CMS along with SPCK and SPG missions. F.A.Western began his book with an introduction of the people and geographical situation so as to enable the readers outside Tinnevelly to understand the country well. He used Caldwell's book the *History of Tinnevelly* also. He also made use of Caldwell's *Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission* and Caldwell's notes found in various records to strengthen his writing.

At the end of the V chapter, he asks the reader to see Caldwell, p. 119 for the full text of the order of Chapter V. Again in the notes and references of Chapter VI, the

author asks readers to go through the History of Tinnevelly to have a detailed record of the epidemic. He used Caldwell's writings whenever and where ever, it is necessary. He might have been influenced by Caldwell's writing. Rev. F.J. Western also attempted a micro study and also about the Church of Tinnevelly from its commencement. He added the history of the Church of Ramnad also. He made use of a copy of the mission Register made by Caldwell. Caldwell drew the Church History of Tinnevelly upto 1841. But, F.J. Western stopped his writing with 1828. He was very much influenced by the Church History of Caldwell. F.J. Western just collected reports, documents, journals, books like Caldwell's mission registers, etc, and narrated them in a chronological order. He accepted the fact that some more original materials may still exist in Tinnevelly or else there, which he could not be able to trace[122].

History of Christianity in India

During the later part of the 20th century, Rev. D.A. Christadass did a macro study of the History of Christianity in India. Consisting of 3 Volumes, the first volume deals with Christianity in India since its entry in India by St. Thomas, one of the disciples of Jesus Christ. He arranged the facts in a chronological order. Religious history coincides with political history. Religious history could not be separated from political history. Both are intertwined and interwoven. The reader may arrive at a conclusion that the growth of Christianity was under the influence of the Roman Government and the Pope, till the advent of Portguese in India i.e., in the 15th century. It depended upon the ruler. He outlined an interesting history of the proselytizers of Christianity in India. It grew under the auspices of Portugese, Dutch and Danes in India. His first volume gives us the history of Christianity from the first century to the

[122] F.J. Western, Op.cit., Introduction.

twenties of 18th century. A student of history may be benefited much from his writings about various kings and kingdoms not only of Rome and other foreign countries but also the native kings. But Caldwell's history of the Church gives us only the religious workers and religious conditions. It might be that the period for which he had written, the British government was the sole powerful ruler of India and growth of Christianity was in the hands of various missions such as CMS, SPCK and SPG. His focus was only on Christianity in Tinnevelly alone. D.A Christadass has given footnotes below the pages, and explanations where ever necessary. He has given controversial views which shows that he was unbiased in his presentation. It is a treasure house not only to the students of religion but also to the historians. He gives a detailed explanation of Catholicism in Tamil Nadu upto Constantius Beschi. His volume I, is ended with the history of Danish Halle Mission[123] in India. He presented it in a lucid Tamil so as to enable the Tamilian reader to get into the facts easily and interestingly.

The Centenary History of the C.M.S. Mission in Tinnevelly :

Caldwell wrote a church History of SPCK and SPG. In an unavoidable circumstances only he cited few matters related to C.M.S. Apart from that his work is exclusively about SPCK and SPG missions. Realizing this Rev. F.J. Western in his church History included CMS along with SPCK and SPG. To do away with the defective[124] work of Caldwell, Judge Paul Appasamy made a worth mentioning history of C.M.S. Mission alone, titled as The Centenary History of the C.M.S. Mission in Tinnelvelly". Unlike Dr. Caldwell, the author was asked to write the history of C.M.S. Because of his position in Madras, he could not avail time for such work. So he accepted that work on a condition. By that he got the materials collected by some

[123] D.A. Christadass, Christianity in India, Palayamkottai, 1975, p. 136.
[124] Defective in the sense it did not give a clear and whole account of CMS like SPCK and SPG Missions.

helpers. Then he went through that and compiled his book. He has given a vivid and lucid account of C.M.S. Missionaries, their life and work, the clergy, not only of foreign origin but also of the natives, their Evangelistic and Educational services. From his writings one May apprehend that CMS had done a commendable service both temporal and spiritual. Educational institutions started by them in and around Palayamkottai are invaluable. The book is just narration. Simply a collection of materials and literature.

According to him Church Missionary Society was founded in England in 1799 and C.T.E. Rhenius[*] was the first C.M.S, Missionary, sent to Tinnevelly. In 1820, work in the district of Tinnevelly really commenced[125]. He gave a sketch of Christianity in south India in the latter 15th century. Compared to Caldwell, he gave a somewhat elaborate account of Roman Catholic priests, following the advent of Portugese in India. Caldwell started with the commencement of Protestant Missionaries since 1771. But earlier history of Christianity found place in the work of Paul Appasamy. He confirmed the idea of Caldwell that SPCK handed over its work (mission), in Tinnevelly to S.P.G in 1826[126]. Earliest SPCK Missionaries were Schwartz, Pohle, Jaenicke, Kolhoff and Ringeltaube were all Germans. Likewise Charles Theophilus, Ewald Rhenius, Bernard Schmid, J.C.F. Winkler and Muller were C.M.S. Missionaries Despite Paul Appasamy's attempt, the history of C.M.S would have been forgotten.

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* Rhenius was a German from Prussia. A man of strong convicts and steadfast in his views, Rhenius came to Chennai in 1814, the year in which Caldwell was born, and started his Gospel service in 1817. He bought some land near the Golden Street (தங்கசாலை) and started building a church there Nee. Kandasami Pillai, Op.cit., p. 99.

125 Paul Appasamy, The Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevelly, Palayamkottai, 1923, p. 2. Ibid., p.28.

126 Ibid., p. 20.

Rev. V. Henry Fackianathan - History of Tirunelveli Church as Nellai Thiruchabai Iru Noorandu Charithiram 1780 - 1980 (Tl)

On the requisition of Bishop Daniel Abraham Rev. Henry Packianathan resolved to write the above mentioned book. In this task he was assisted by many persons. But Caldwell wrote the Church History of Tinnevelly Mission by himself. He relied on sources alone not on any person. His work started from Roman Empire, advent of Portugese, Dutch and Danes. He gives a brief life history along with work services of missionaries. Bishop Caldwell's life history is given in page xxxxxvi and xxxxxvii. The investigator opines that Dr. Caldwell's work surpassed that of Rev. Henry Packianathan's.

Paul S. Kadambavanam - The Foundation of The Diocese of Tirunelveli.

Paul S. Kadambavanam explained some incident with photographs. It is not so informative as Dr. Caldwell's. He did not give equal importance to all the missionaries. Dr. Caldwell's history is given only in 4 lines in the appendix page no. 90. The investigator opines that, it is less informative and less descriptive and vague.

The Birth of a Bishopric :

Yet another book of the History of the Tirunelveli Church was from the pen of George Muller. The book was titled as *The Birth of a Bishopric.* It will help us know about the early days of the church in Tirunelveli, how the Lord worked from a humble beginning to its present stature. He starts from the advent of Portugese and finishes with the birth of Tirunelveli Bishopric in 1898. He made use of Letters, Biographies, Autobiographies, Committee Resolutions and Records. Caldwell's writings too influenced him. He made use of Caldwell's Records of Early History of The Tirunelveli

Mission in the following pages pp. 1, 7, 9 and 15. He accepts the views of Caldwell regarding the birth and the founder of Tirunelveli church. In his second chapter he accepts the fact that Tirunelveli church came into existence in 1780 and Rev. Christian Fredrich Schwartz to whom he dedicated his book was the founder of the Tirunelveli church. He divided his book into 5 chapters giving importance to chronology. In each chapter he gives a brief discussion of the services of Missionaries. Unlike Caldwell he gives the history of *Church Missionary* society too. But he did not ignore SPG and SPCK. He gives a vivid explanation of the separation of LMS and SPG, then he narrates the merger of the two societies into one as Tirunelveli Bishopric. He gives a brief account of Bishop Caldwell too.

We may conclude that the Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission was a worth while effort. Caldwell while involved in this task of collection and edition followed the typical eighteenth century pattern of Mission writers. They had an audience in mind and their aim was to satisfy them. So the pattern was to give a successful story of the Mission/Missionaries. Caldwell may be considered as a historian, since he has given the history of the church. Unless and otherwise, it would have been sunk in obscurity. The records talk very little of the native contribution, except of a few native catehists and priests, and so in a way it is mainly about western Missionaries. It talks very little about social and cultural life of the locals amongst whom the gospel had been conveyed.

Caldwell wrote an early and important work on the political history of Tinnevelly entitled a 'Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly in the presidency of Madras, from the earliest period to its cession to the English Government in A.D. 1801. This work contains an important chapter on pre British Missions in that

region. Tinnevelly has been the fulcrum for Christian missions in South India for at least 150 years. The region adds a rich and lively chapter to church history. It is difficult to point out an official date for the arrival of Christianity in the Indian sub-continent. The traditional view is that the apostle Thomas first brought Christian teaching to the land in the first century. No records survive that would put the matter to rest, but there is no doubt that many Indians attest to the veracity of the story. In Kerala and around Chennai in Tamil Nadu, there are many monuments, relics, and churches that testify to the popular belief to Thomas' presence. Whether true or not the story does demonstrate a historic fact; Christianity has had a presence in South India since early times[127].

Caldwell begins his work "Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of the SPCK and SPG with the period of Schwartz who came to Tinnevelly in 1778. He didn't make a mention of the period prior to Schwartz. The same Caldwell, in his book a History of Tinnevelly, presented a chapter (chapter x) on Missions in Tinnevelly prior to the cession of the country to the English, in 1801. He says that the commencement of the Roman catholic Mission in Tinnevelly dates from 532, when certain paravas-representatives of the paravas or fishing caste, visited Cochin to request the help of the Portugese against their Muhammadan oppressors, were baptized there my Michael vaz, vicar general of the Bishop of Goa. Then he proceeds the history of Roman Catholic Church upto 1831 with special reference to Francis Xavier, Beschi, and the period after them. Then he gives an outline of the Missions of the Church of England, mentioning a little about Schwartz, Jaenicke and the commencement of the Christianization of the Shanars. For a detailed study of the Missions in Tinnevelly, he asks the reader to refer "Records of the early History of the Tinnevelly Mission".

[127] Rev. Dyron B. Daughrity, A Brief History of Missions in Tirunelvelt (Partone) from the Beginnings to its Creation as a Diocese in 1896, p. 1-2.

The Progress of Christianity in Tinnevelly was greater and more rapid than in other provinces of India. The early history was also interesting. He hoped that the missionaries of his period would be glad to know of the origin and the various links in the chain of events which led to its prosperity, certainly he could procure would be useful to the missionaries and the Church workers in their mission.[128]

Caldwell was not satisfied with the life history and the achievements of the missionaries of SPCK and SPG. He adds some more details by way of appendix. Appendix II & III will certainly mould future missionaries of both the societies. The characteristic features, the powers, duties and functions of missionaries were also displayed. This shows his high ideals of preparing missionaries for their mission. Caldwell has given an Index at the back so as to enable the reader to find a particular place or person easily. In the beginning he framed a clear and detailed table of contents. Apart from giving the titles of each chapter, the subheadings are also mentioned, which is very helpful to the reader. If one is looking for information of any particular incident, occurrence or place or person this method of detailed table of contents helps a lot. He numbered the points too; we may find those points in the form of side headings inside the chapter. Caldwell's records bear statements of their connection with the court of Directors of East India Company. At times they sought their assistance to discharge their duties without huddles[129]. Mission history was intertwined with the political history of that period. We may learn castes and creed of new converts Ex. Shanars, Paraiahs, Weavers, Vellalas, Maravas, Brahman etc. History and origin of various villages Ex. Mudalur, Uvari, Sattankulam, Nazareth, Palamcotta, Jeruselem, Kulasekgra Pattinam, Vadakkankulam, Sawyerpuram etc, Political pressure in them

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[128] R.Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 1.
[129] Rt. Rev. Caldwell, Records, Op.cit., p. 49.

during poligars reign[130] troubles and sufferings wrought to Christians, struggles endured by Christians, persecution, and relapses are also found place in his writings. Other creeds also found mention in his writings Ex. Parsee, their advent of India and their life style.[131]

A historian may be benefited by his writings in which, mention is made about catastrophe such as Epidemic fever engendered by heavy floods of 1810, Coimbatore fever, Dindigal fever of 1812[132] and unseasonable rain etc. From his writings we find that the Christian Bishops were influential. We may cite an example here to prove that made by Caldwell about the Brahmans of Tinnevelly who sought the help of Bishop Middleton against the then government to allow them to have more produce of their lands[133]. Outbreak of a new disease called cholera in 1819[134]. We have come to understand that Mr. Hough a missionary arranged a Tamil Dictionary - is an interesting tips to the lovers of language. It talks about the condition of education prevailed in several parts of Tinnevelly (Ex.P.220) about the life of the natives their grievances Ex. Edeyangudi peoples complaint to Mr. Rhenius.[135] It says about the geography of the land. Red sand hills could be seen east of Nazareth, elevated and barren land, invested by robbers often about 7 miles North to South and four miles from East to west.[136] About the payment of taxes i.e., Poll tax for the maintenance of the heathen pagodas[137]. We know about architecture from the erection of the Church at Nazareth[138]. One could

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[130] Ibid, p. 81.
[131] Ibid., p. 147.
[132] Ibid., p. 170-171.
[133] Ibid., p. 174-175.
[134] Ibid., p. 206.
[135] Ibid., 236-237.
[136] Ibid., 242-243.
[137] Ibid., p. 250.
[138] Ibid., p. 253.

find foot notes wherever necessary Ex. P.269. But we may learn little about the labours of Church Missionaries[139].

INFERENCE

One may cull out certain traits of Caldwell in presenting facts and datas.

1. Wholeheartedly he appreciated and praised the services of others without jealous or prejudice. Ex. Though Schwartz was not a genius Caldwell remarked that Schwartz undoubtedly deserves to be placed in the first rank of Indian Missionaries[140].

2. Since he was very particular about accuracy and infallibility, he admitted his flaws and appreciated his ability. Ex. Caldwell pointed that though Schwartz could not be described as a man of genius, like Francis Xavier or a metaphysician like Robert de Nobili, or a scholar and man of letters, like Constentious Beschi, but he was not inferior to those great Jesuit missionaries, or to any missionaries of any church or society that ever lived, in simplicity, and godly sincerity, in wisdom, philanthropy and zeal[141]. Coherence and chronological order of facts is praiseworthy. He used tables wherever necessary to make the matter more impressive.

3. Apart from the title, he has given subtitles, side headings wherever necessary, so as to enable the reader, follow the events easily and interestingly. His vivid and lucid explanation of the past makes the reader feel the real situation himself. An interesting picture of the First visit of Schwartz to Palayamkottai in 1778 is noteworthy.

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[139] Ibid., p. 274-275.
[140] Rt. R.R. Caldwell, Op.cit., p. 4.
[141] Ibid., p. 4.

CONCLUSION

1. Caldwell really deserves the appreciation of a true and good reader. Because he did not like to write about the mission history of his time himself. Generously he let the future writers to compile the history of his time. So any church history of his time be free from subjectivity and elements of bias.

2. He had given dates wherever necessary to make the reader interesting and rouse involvement.

3. To add flavour to his work he added 3 appendices.

4. By his vivid and lucid explanations he takes the reader along with the missionaries and their mission field, so as to make the reader feel the reality of the situation. Since Caldwell was very particular about accuracy[142], his Records of the Tinnevelly Mission is reliable and authentic. He paved way for future writers of church History. To that extent his writing threw light on the subject matter, that would evince-interest and induce the readers for future work.

Caldwell, as a Missionary wanted to leave a record containing the services of early missionaries - total converts, his services and his total converts. In this goal Caldwell achieved the maximum. He himself says that his work is not a critical study, but only a record for helping his successors to know about Church History. In that, Caldwell never deviated from it and had presented what he was able to collect, collate, edit and As a true Missionary Caldwell, it is learnt from his writings tried to settle the

[142] J.L. Wyatt, Op.cit., p. 149.

difference of pinion that cropped up among some missionaries of different denominations. He never said that his is an authoritative work, but a guide to others. Since he concentrated more on writing the Comparative Grammar and History of Tinnevelly, he could not spend more time on this work.

While Caldwell was giving finishing touches to the first publication of his comparative Grammar, he was in England for twenty two months. During this period, he visited two hundred and fifty Parishes and delivered three hundred and fifty discourses about India and Indian religions to the people of England. He witnessed with silence and patience all kinds of paraphernalia of welcomes offered to him by the people wherever he went. He never took seriously of the waste of time and energy in these functions. What he wanted was the happiness of the people. He never gave chance for misreading of any work. His versatility in many languages was surprising and surpassing. He was worth for the praise of Otto Bohthingh, the editor of the world famous Lexicon, St. Petersburg Sanskrit and Dictionary[143]. With great understanding of all religious, Caldwell went ahead with his ordained work in the name of Christ.

SOURCE MATERIALS

1. Unpublished Proceedings of Madras District Committee.
2. Brief Narrative of the SPG published by Madras Diocesan Committee in 1851.
3. Committee resolutions.
4. Proceedings of the Madras District Committee.
5. Reports sent by Missions to MDC.
6. Letters.

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[143] N. Kandasamy Pillai, Op.cit., p. 130.

7. Resolutions of Committee.
8. Church-yard inscription / epitaphs which he calls sermons in stones very little of contemporary government records.
9. The journal of Schwartz for the year 1771 served as a source material to Caldwell.
10. He got information from letters and documents preserved in the mission archives at Halle too.

CONCLUSION

There is a brief assessment of Caldwell's life and service in the last few pages of this work. Caldwell a chosen vessel of God to minister in His Vineyard, was of Scottish descent. He became a mass missionary by his sheer personal integrity any sincerity. He had come to India, only to promote proselytizing. He is respected all over the world as a missionary, linguist, historian and philanthropist. The Lord has called Caldwell to be used by him to bring about revival. He was a dynamic and multifaceted phenomenon. He is respected all over the world as a protagonist of Evangelism, linguistics and history. He entered the Mission as a London Missionary and turned society for the Propagation of Gospel at different circumstances. He left LMS and identified himself with S.P.G. He was a missionary with a different zeal. He was a born adventurer and had a burden to take the Gospel to places like India. Having committed his life to Christ he chose the path of the cross and decided to bear the cross at all costs. Althrough his ministry of 53 years he joyfully proclaimed the message of the Lord. His mission was active.

After he had committed his life to the Lord at the age of sixteen, he identified himself with London Mission Society (L.M.S). That society sent him to Glasgow University for higher studies. He found himself in an intellectually stimulating environment at Glasgow. He fortunately had an opportunity to hear the lectures of his Professor of Greek Sir. Daniel Sandford. He sowed the seeds of Caldwell's Comparative Language. Caldwell looked to the future with much optimism. He proved himself worthy of Robert Peels Prize. After graduation L.M.S. ordered him as a solemn priest and deputed him to India in 1837. At the tender age of twenty he was bold enough to venture into the land which he never knew before. He had to leave his

mother, who was battling an illness, for the Lord's sake on August 30, 1837. He secured the friendship of C.P Brown during his eventful voyage from England to India. This comradeship helped him a lot in his future venture of writing comparative grammar of Dravidian languages and to undertake a successful career in India. He arrived at Madras on January 8, 1838 where God equipped him for service. As a young and energetic man, he stayed for more than three years in Madras and studied Tamil and other Dravidan languages, besides Sanskrit. He secured the friendship of the Rev. Anderson, Dr. G.U. Pope, the Rev. Bower, Rev. Calthrop, Rev. John Tucker, Dr. Winslow, Dr. S. Scudder and also the great Tamil poet Vedanayagam Sastriar at Thanjavur. The invaluable experience he earned at Chennai moulded his missionary activities.

After three years he left Chennai to Idaiyangudi by a historic walk. He had overcome all the hardships such as unknown path, unknown language, unknown people, unknown habits, customs, culture, and unfamiliar climatic conditions. At last he reached the destined place Idaiyangudi in December 1841. He settled in Idaiyangudi after travelling widely and picking up different languages and varied information. On the eve of his arrival, Idaiyangudi posed a haphazard appearance. He set his house first and then made other to follow him. He was successful in making Idaiyangudi a model village with straight lanes with trees on either side. He built churches, schools and an hospital. He became friendly with the people. It is not an exaggerated fact that Caldwell was wedded to Evangelism. Evangelism, social service, prayer and devotion were all important to him. Still then he took delight in conversing with the 'heathens' who gathered outside the church or in the school building after offering prayers in the church. He opened their hearts with the key of love. 'Heathens' who turned a blind eye to his teaching initially were attracted and caught by him through his post haste relief

and rescue measures of famine epidemic and other natural calamities (fire). The widely reported feature of his Evangelism was his craving soul for 'heathens', which made him find ways and means to reach them in their natural surroundings. His approach won him many friends, Christians, Hindus and Muhamedans. His methods of Evangelism managed to attract the attention of most visitors, both foreigners and foreigners who made India their abode.

It is an accepted fact that there is a woman behind every successful man of God. That woman behind Caldwell was his wife Eliza, who was responsible for his successful Evangelistic Mission. Methods of Mrs. Eliza Caldwell also was relatively more attractive which made, women earn a living themselves by introducing lace making and nursing the poor, sick and pregnant women. She was the first person to begin Girls Boarding School. His wife shouldered his responsibility. Even their children took part in their mission work. His eldest daughter was very helpful to him in mobilising fund from England to complete the monumental structure of the church. His daughters were helpful to him in his mission. His eldest son-in-law Rev. Wyatt was a missionary at Trichinopoly and at times of need Wyatt helped his father-in-law in his mission at Idaiyangudi. His second son-in-law served in the military. Caldwell's whole family was in the service of India either in the field of religion or in the British Government. Caldwell sacrificed his own benefit for those who are deprived of everything. Caldwell was a communicative writer. He was precise in expression while his style is simple and direct. Apart from his regular Evangelistic Mission and regular correspondence with friends abroad and the society for which he worked, he was able to devote considerable time to write both spiritual and secular books, and translation works. Among them 'Reminiscences' is the most informative and elaborate auto-

biography containing very useful personal memoirs. This book provides us with a peep into his personal life included in this volume are scenes from his daily life.

Amidst his hectic travels and mission work everyday he allotted some time for research work. He was loved and welcomed by people who belonged to all communities. The climatic condition of Idaiyangudi affected his health a lot. So during summer, the hardworking Caldwell found great difficulty in finding a cool place to continue his hard work. Until he chose to go to Kodaikanal he temporarily shifted to Ilanchunai near Uvari, which is only 10km from Idaiyangudi, to live with his students during the hot summer days. In the months of monsoon, he stayed at Courtallam in the Tirunelveli district, where the water falls soothed him. The words of Dale Carnegie came true in the life of Caldwell i.e., “Most of the important things in the world have been accomplished by people who have kept on trying when there seemed to be no help at all.” The pinnacle of his mission was his consecration as the Bishop of S.P.G. in 1879 and Rev. Sargent was consecrated as the Bishop of C.M.S. Bishop Sargent was in Suvishesapuram while Caldwell was in Idaiyangudi. Caldwell had a good fortune of sharing some great moments as both were contemporaries but not rivals. He developed a good raport with him. They met like family members and never did their congregational denomination come into their relations.

After becoming Bishop, Madras Diocesan Council (M.D.C) asked him to reside at Tuticorin for its geographical situation, educational and commercial significance. He had to leave Idaiyangudi half heartedly to fulfil a glorious purpose of the Mission. His wife Eliza and himself devoted much for the development of high school and college education. Victoria Girls School and Caldwell College will not fade away from the history of Tuticorin. This was the onerous task they had ever undertaken. His life there

was only short. Owing to hectic travels and crowded programmes continuously for 53 years, the Bishop (Caldwell) began to loose his health. Though he never relented in his endeavours to continue the work he was crippled in his work by illness. Owing to his age and his increasing feebleness, at the earnest request of his family, the Bishop placed his resignation of his Episcopal office in the hands of the Bishop of Madras, January 31st 1891. M.D.C very reluctantly accepted his resignation after considering his physical condition. Then Caldwell retired to Kodaikkanal to spend his remaining days and to restore his health in the conducive climatic condition. But that lasted only for few months. He fell ill on August 19th 1891. His growing ill-health demanded a radical remedy. His son Addington and other doctors did all they could to nurse him back to health. But the enormous physical strain of the journey and tireless work took its toll and he breathed his last on August 28, 1891, inspite of all efforts to save him. While he was alive he expressed his ambition to be buried among the people for whom he had toiled for nearly 53 years. Being an European he was anxious to remain as an Indian. His body was carried (by men, train and bullock cart) to Idaiyangudi from Kodikkanal. His body was honoured with all respects along its way between sobs. His friends, well-wishers, admirers, commoners and delegates of various congregations flocked to Idaiyangudi to pay last homage to their beloved Bishop. At last, it was made to rest beneath the chancel (altar) of the Holy Trinity Church, Idaiyangudi, on September 2, 1891 amidst the mute spectators. His last journey was preceded by his son-in-law Wyatt who had presided over the funeral ceremony.

The plaque engraved on his resting place reads a follows :

Sacred to the memory of

The Right Reverend Robert Caldwell, D.D., L.L.D. Fellow of the University of Madras,

Who for 53 years devoted his eminent talents to the

furtherance of the Gospel,

and the building up of Christ's Church among

the Tamil people in Tinnevelly,

the last 14 of those years as

Assistant Bishop to the Bishop of Madras.

Excelling as a scholar and philologist,

intimately acquainted with the Tamil people, their history,

language and customs,

a ready and elegant writer, he attained a wide reputation,

bringing honour thereby to the Missionary's calling

and strengthening the cause of Missions in the church at home.

Caldwell was a voracious reader, communicative writer and an eloquent speaker. He had written many books, letters and pamphlets. It may not be out of place if a mention atleast of his major works such as *The Shanars of Tinnevelly, Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Family of Languages, Political and General History of Tinnevelly, Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* is made.

Caldwell's name and fame rest on the above works. Of them, the first work was on the then social status of a community, lower to the Tevars and higher to the Pallars. Their condition was pitiable. That moved the heart of Caldwell, who had decided to uplift them by his writings. The concentration of a large number of *Shanars* in and around Idaiyangudi, made him think about the well being and development of that particular community. He was impressed by the very appearance and temperament by the first look at them at Madurai. Finally, when he settled in his Mission Field at

Idaiyangudi, he found that he was surrounded by that particular community. He was well conversant with the socio-economic and political condition of the community. The Shanars were an interesting people, known for their hard work among the palmyrah trees in the region. The great majority of the Christians belonged to this community. They were neither caste Hindus (deprived of the privilege of entering temple) nor untouchables. They had a magnificent physique and a hardy and aggressive temperament. They became Christians in groups. When the missionaries first encountered them, they were almost wholly illiterate. They took eagerly to education and had produced a number of distinguished leaders. Then there was no definite policy or programme on most vital matters affecting their community. Hopeful of getting fund infusion from his friends and well wishers abroad, he wrote a short sketch on the Shanars (1849), whereby an exciting communal tale hung. These small things go to make up the quirks which characterise the intellectual history of the Tamils. The dismaying fact was that, he burnt his fingers by intervening on the side of the *Shanars*. His book on *Shanars of Tinnevelly* was not welcome and the Shanars began to treat him with hostility. It roused ruthless criticisms of his opponents. Violations were on the increase across the district. The Nadars the wealthy and a little literate section, challenged Caldwell by producing a number of counter writings to propagate their myths that they were the descendants of a noble community, the Pandyas, the Kshatriyas, including the lost tribe of Israel. It is said that Caldwell being unhappy with his work among the Nadars, shifted his focus to the caste Hindus at Tuticorin.

The protestors never imagined the disastrous effect of their protest. His attempt to appease the community proved futile. Situation turned worst. So to avert the worsening situation he withdrew the book from circulation. Nevertheless to say that it was his writing that awakened the *Shanar* community for betterment. It would not be

fair on the part of the Shanars if they forget the selfless service rendered to their community by Caldwell. One must realise the fact that the Shanars took eagerly to education and have produced a number of distinguished leaders only after the advent of missionary activities. Though Caldwell failed in his effort (withdrawal of the book) as a social historian he paved a luminous way to trace the roots of many other social groups.

Caldwell's work indirectly awakened the Shanars to the realities of life. Protestors had some personal grievances with Caldwell to grind. But they too can not dismiss the services of Caldwell, though the author was much critical of their intellectual capability and slavish mentality. The greatest contribution of the Bishop is the kindling of the fire of self-realisation of the shanars and writing the first ever social history or the history of a community in transition.

Having got a bad experience, Caldwell thereafter thought of fruitfully making use of his time in constructive works in languages. He was amazed by the treasures in Tamil language. But its grammar was not known outside. So he decided to work on that area. He made an indepth and critical study of the Dravidian group of languages (1856), compared their grammars and concluded that Tamil is an independent language. The seed was sown at Glasgow. That made him to have a mastery over eighteen languages. This profound love for languages, gave birth to his commendable contribution the Comparative Grammar. In Glasgow he studied, with as much interest and delight as he did theology. Since 1838, for 16 years, Caldwell worked in a hot country much to the detriment of his health. However the spirit of learning did not deter him. He went to the U.K. in 1854 to recoup his health and to improve the image of the mission of charity. As soon as he went there, he began to write the Comparative Grammar. Even in U.K. he undertook missionary duties and only at leisure hours, he continued the work of

writing the grammar. Within a year and ten months he completed his work he wrote the preface and published his book in London in 1856. It is yet to be surpassed for its wide coverage, penetrating analyses, precise comments and comparative details.

It is interesting to note what Caldwell himself says about the book in his journal: in the introduction about the origin and meaning of the common term Dravidian, which was first used in all his books instead of the rather restricted term Tamilian. The term *Dravidian* has now found its place in all works on the Indian Languages, which has earned for Bishop Caldwell an everlasting name in the annals of Dravidian studies the world over. However, it is to be noted that Caldwell was not the first to coin or popularise the term Dravidian. It was F.W. Ellis, who invented the phraseology which Caldwell made use of after the death of Ellis. He was the exponent of the new theory that Tamil was born of the Ugro – Finnish group of languages. By saying this he disapproved the theory of the great linguist Sir William. Further, he disqualified the theory of Prof. Wilson that South Indian languages followed Sanskrit and the prominent literary treasures are either a translation or தழுவல் of Sanskrit. For this Caldwell cites (identifies) *Tirukkural* and *Cinthamani* as having no connections with Sanskrit both in format and method. They are entirely original and not of second rate. He was one of the first to analyse piecemeal Tamil to reveal that it was different from Sanskrit. Investigating grammar thread bare, he showed that it could be constructed on a historical basis and this paved the way for the study and construction of a historical grammar of Tamil. He also established the fact that Tamil is not indebted to Sanskrit as English to Latin. His views stand against the humiliating and insulting views about Tamil of 17th and 18th centuries. His theory is contrary to the recent theory of the Dravidian linguist Kamil Zvelebil. Comparative Grammar of Dravidian linguistics of Caldwell paved way for the Comparative Grammar of African Languages.

The great linguist Sunit Kumar Chatterjee too was very much influenced by Caldwell's work.

Caldwell made many scholars to think about his findings and bold assertions. Though some scholars were critical of his statements, many were reasoned out to accept his words and make further studies. Thus comparative studies gained greater acceptance in the curriculum of educational institutions and scholars found exalted positions in these institutions. According to him, Tamil is not only a great and classical language, but also the most cultivated among the languages of the Dravidian group. He boasted that it can dispense with its Sanskrit terms and can stand alone and flourish. The expressed optimism of his work are i) Tamil is older than any other languages; and ii) Tamilians were civilised people before the advent of Aryans. Caldwell had portrayed in 1856 the pre-Aryan civilization of the Dravidians on the evidence of the words in usage among the early Tamils. The words are non-Aryan and hence the Tamils (Dravidians) who used such words which indicate a civilization of their own, were cultured and civilised even before the migration of Aryans into the South.

Sociological views are also found in his linguistic work. When the Aryans conquered India they made the original inhabitants their slaves, kept them in subjugation, exploitation and oppression. A.L. Basham says, "In the reduction to bondage of the many dasas captured in battle, we find the probative origin of slavery." According to Caldwell, the Paraiyar, Pallar and the Pulaiyar and several other low caste tribes were enslaved to the higher castes and appear always to have been in enslaved condition.

The theory grew that the Brahmins were Aryans whose sacred language was Sanskrit; the rest were Dravidians. Since Tamil and other similar languages linguistically belonged to the Dravidian group, who spoke Tamil were older to Sanskrit. So the contrariness related to Brahmin non – Brahmin; Aryan – Dravidan; and Sanskrit – Tamil. Since Sanskrit was the language of the north and Tamil the language of the south, the dichotomy extended to north south also. His writing put him in a commanding position. After a lot of considerations, the Central Government announced Tamil as a Classical Language. Now Tamil finds a place with Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Persian, Chinese and Sanskrit. His ethno-linguistic study served as a base for the First International Classical Conference held at Coimbatore in June 2010. Among the galaxy of scholars whose statues were installed in 1968 on the Marina at Madras, Caldwell's is one. The former Tamil Nadu Government (D.M.K) declared his house a State Monument. All this honour is due to his love and service for Tamil language.

Caldwell was not only a philologist but also a historian. His sense of history was induced by some unknown factors. He widely travelled, both in Tamil Nadu and Kerala and visited many places of historical and cultural importance across the length and breadth of Tamil Nadu. He felt the lack of historical sense among Tamilians. His most lasting legacy is that he tried to build a bridge over the biggest gulf in Tamil society. Historical sense occupied his thought completely. *The Political and General History of Tinnevelly* written by him was a stepping stone to ensure the cultural richness and diversity of Tirunelveli. He brought to light the hidden historical treasure of that region from ancient to modern (Pandya's to British Government), touching the religious condition too. He tried to bridge the yawning generation gap of that era by presenting his collections of ancient sites and charters or records, historical facts of Tamil works and Madras Government records. He challenged the youth of Tamil Nadu,

in his convocation address to the graduates of Madras University in 1879. By writing the history of Tirunelveli he finds a place in the heart of more and more historians of Tamil Nadu. *Paratakandapurātanam* (Indian Antiquities) was his another historical work. In this, he compares *Mahabhāratha* with Homer's Illiad. Though his history of Tirunelveli was general and political and the first work on local history, it suffers from some shortcomings. His study of ancient and medieval periods was sketchy when compared to the British period. Though Caldwell loved the Tamil language, his history is not free from subjectivity and racial / religious chauvinism. In one or two places his racial superiority is evident. Otherwise his work makes a succinct account of the then Tinnevelly.

Though Caldwell wrote on secular issues, he was originally a Missionary sent for proselytization. His religiously inclined mind produced a religious book named *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge*. This serves as a guide book to all missionaries, who came from England for propagating and proselytizing Christianity. He extensively writes on issues affecting and encouraging the Mission Field, with exhortations to the young and new missionaries. He practised what he preached. He felt the need to reach out to the lost humanity with good news. In the course of her long history, India has known a number of men and women missionaries who have been recognised by her people. Among them Caldwell played an inimitable role in the Christian movement of Tirunelveli in Tamil Nadu. He was a patient Bishop to his flock with whom he spent as much of time they wanted. Even when he was old his body stood erect. He used to visit every congregation and was received by the people with warm welcome. After that he retired tired but content. Whenever his region was reeling under a natural crisis, he would

present himself there with remedial measures. He found himself to be in God's grand agenda for lost humanity. He set an example to the later missionaries by his simplicity, straightforwardness, eagerness, dedication and involvement in the welfare of the people. In addition to the mushrooming of schools, he built churches almost in all aspirations, which is shown through his tireless service to SPG. They apprised him of his work through their monthly reports. Because of his onerous missionary activities church of Tirunelveli had an impressive growth rate during his life time.

Apart from writing and doing mission activities, the fascinating curiosity imbibed in him made him to do archaeological survey and researches in Korkai and Kayal, by which he gave an assurance of foreign trade that prevailed between Tamil Nadu and Rome and the Greek empire. His curiosity made him study rare coin collections of the King of Travancore. After studying he revealed the fact that they belonged to the age between Emperor Augustus and Nero. In addition, he brought to light many Sanskrit manuscripts in South India.

Caldwell's writing proves that he inspired the art of writing on various aspects. No doubt he was the forerunner of social historians. Though he made some injuring comments about the characteristic features of *Shanars*, he did not do it with an intention to insult them. The motive hidden behind is infusion of fund for the well being and betterment of the community in the social ladder. The right attitude and positive approach of his community work will brush aside the insignificant and magnified flaws.

He was also a political historian. Some are of the opinion that he underestimated the historical sense of Tamilians. It was because he could not trace any such history books in the erstwhile Tamil Nadu. But Tamil poets say that their history is in poetry.

As for as linguistics is concerned, though Ellis made some beginnings on Dravidian languages, Caldwell made it known all over the world (widespread). His meticulous and meritorious service to Tamil language and people is praiseworthy.

His religious work is also worthy of following. Not only that it gives the history of the Christian Missionary Societies of Tirunelveli District but for him it would have been left in obscurity. The historic bend of his mind is being revealed through his pen, the mightier weapon. There are the values that the analysis cherishes most in him.

His writings and missionary activities will encourage and motivate young researchers and missionaries to proceed towards their destination without fear. He reached the zenith of his life through hard work. His influences are every where, in books – both secular and religious, archaeological survey, schools, and churches. Though a foreigner and was subjected to innumerable and unbelievable hardships and sufferings, he created precedents that are worthy of following. With dedication and hard work he excelled in his profession of Evangelism. Generations to come will scarce believe the sweet melody of the high sounding Bells of Idaiyangudi Church which always reminds us of Caldwell. His memory will never die off as long as the monumental church, its four Bells and the institutions started by him live. Abraham Lincoln says, "That some achieve great success, is proof to all that others can achieve it as well." But it is hard to see anyone filling the empty space left behind by Bishop Caldwell. He lived an exemplary life contented in all walks. His valuable writings opened new vistas to the future investigators.

SOURCES

Bishop Dr. Robert Caldwell's intimate personal acquaintance with the people and their dialects, his patient study of their past, as proved by his 'History of Tinnevelly' and The 'Tinnevelly Shanars' and the strong religious convictions which made pursuits that to another man would have been the relaxations of a busy life with him a serious and unremitted duty, enabled him to accumulate a mass of carefully verified and original materials such as no other European scholar has ever amassed in India[*]. Side by side with his religious work he gathered information for the language work about which he had made up his mind from his early days. Bishop Dr.Robert Caldwell himself says about how he was able to get sources. From the time of his arrival in India, but especially from the time of his arrival in Tinnevely, he set himself to the study of Indian philology, ethnology, and history. He procured the best books that were attainable, and learnt German that the might be able to make use of the vast stores of Indian learning accumulated by German scholars, His personal acquaintance with the people, and their dialects, his patient study of their past helped him a lot.

Literary Sources

Literary works were available on olai-dried palm leaves. Caldwell thought that many works in Tamil believed to have perished, still existed in some almost unfathomable place and a complete search of "Madras" and houses by educated natives would be rewarded by the unearthing of valuable but old literary works[1].

Caldwell was led to make such a statement since prior to him, certain European scholars began the task of gathering inscriptions and manuscripts and they also registered

[*] The Times on Bishop Caldwell, From the Times of October 19, 1891.
[1] Caldwell, History of Tin. p. 3.

the difficulties met with during such an endeavour[2].

Inscriptions

The Hindus who loved philosophical thinking, and made deep excursions in almost every field, paradoxically failed to consider history as an essential element of literature/History has never been considered until the dawn of the modern era.

For the study of history inscriptions are one of the sources. Caldwell believes that until educated natives take these inscriptions up for systematic study, a complete history cannot be constructed[3]. Dr. Burnell has furnished Caldwell's valuable information which he collected in Tanjore about the Chola and Pandya Dynasties[4].

Other Sources

Father time is not always a hard parent and though he tarries for none of his Children, he often lays his hand lightly on those who have used him well is proved in the life of Bishop Dr.Robert Caldwell. Apart from his regular Evangelistic Mission, he was able to devote considerable time to write both secular, spiritual and translation works. Evangelism, social service, prayer and devotion were all important to him. He took delight in conversing with the heathens who gathered outside the church. His approach won him many friends among Christians, heathens and Mohamedans and influenced people. Inspite of several complications which compelled him to confine himself to his residence, he took delight in visiting the hamlets. Apart from his regular Correspondence with friends all over the world he was able to devote considerable time to write several books. They are as follows.

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[2] K. Meenkakshisundara, p. 144.
[3] Caldwell Madras University Convocation Address, 1979.
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